# HISTORICAL STUDIES

OF

# CHURCH-BUILDING

IN THE

# MIDDLE AGES

*VENICE, SIENA, FLORENCE*

BY

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

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# I

# CHURCH-BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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## I.

*CHURCH-BUILDING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.*

The completeness of the wreck of ancient civilization in Western Europe during the centuries that followed the fall of the Roman Empire is indicated by the degradation of all the arts of expression. As one light of ancient civilization after another was extinguished, the habits of culture, of which these arts are the manifestation, disappeared. The language of common speech as well as that of literature became feeble and corrupt. The last book in which something of classic dignity and vigor survived bore the significant title of *The Consolation of Philosophy*. Palace, villa, and temple, the monuments of ancient elegance and splendor, were destroyed by violence, or deserted and left to slow decay. No new great works of civic utility or adornment were undertaken; the old were

no longer maintained. Architecture, sculpture, and painting, if practised at all, were occupied with the rude execution of poor and unimaginative designs. Skill even in the mechanic arts declined.

In Italy, indeed, a few cities remained, or became for a longer or shorter time, centres of a life that preserved feeble traditions of the old civilization or displayed some traits of original culture. Rome, not yet at her worst, was busy alike in destroying the works of heathen ages* and in building and decorating Christian churches that reproduced the forms of the imperial basilica. Ravenna received from Constantinople the

* The rapid loss of sense of the worth of works of ancient art gives evidence, not so much of the change of sentiment due to the influence of Christianity, as of the growth of actual barbarism. The following extract from a letter by R. Lanciani, in the *Athenæum* (London) of June 24, 1879, illustrates this point:

"Two striking instances of the wanton destruction of works of art after the fall of the Empire have been obtained in the last days. A few yards from the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica a wall was discovered built with statues. Seven have already been put together, as I mentioned in my last letter. Not far from the same place we are exploring a foundation wall, eight feet square, built with the same materials. The upper strata contain slabs of marble, stripped from pavements and from walls, steps, lintels, thresholds, etc. The middle strata contain columns, pedestals, capitals, all split into fragments. Finally, at the bottom of the wall, statues begin to appear of exquisite workmanship, together with busts, hermæ, bass-reliefs, etc. The stratification of these marbles shows that at the time when the foundation wall was being constructed there was in the neighborhood a shrine, a temple, a fountain, or some such monument, in good preservation and profusely ornamented. The masons first took advantage of whatever was movable without difficulty, and accordingly we find the statues at the bottom of the trench. Then they put their hands on what was half movable, and this is the reason why columns, capitals, etc., are found in the middle strata. A further want of materials obliged them to attack at last the building itself, its steps, thresholds, etc."

arts which gave lustre to the Empire of the East. The Lombards showed in their rough but impressive work the vigorous spirit and kindling imagination of a strong, half-barbaric Northern race.

But throughout the greater part of Europe the elements of society were too confused, and its conditions too unsettled, for the undertaking of any work that required stable modes of life and implied confidence in the permanence of established order. Charlemagne (742–814) indeed, who, for a moment, by force of heroic personal character and iron will, evoked order out of chaos, and revived the fading memory of imperial authority, conceived the generous but impracticable design of restoring life to literature and the arts. The famous church at Aachen is the venerable monument of his effort, and one of the most impressive memorials in the world of the power of character over circumstance. But the order which Charlemagne established in his dominions, and which alone made culture and the arts possible, fell to pieces in the nerveless hands of his successors. The conditions of society became more wretched and distracted than ever; and, in the confusion and tumult of the ninth century, all forms of expression became still ruder and feebler than before.

But this period of disintegration and dissolution was one of preparation for the reorganization of society upon new foundations. The old structure must be destroyed that the new might come into existence. As years went on the brutal forces of anarchy were here

and there successfully withstood. The principles by which the modern world was to be regulated slowly gained strength, though but dimly recognized and imperfectly defined.

In the course of the tenth century, Europe began to take on a new shape. A faint consciousness of distinct national life was felt in Italy, Germany, France, and England. The lines of modern nationalities were beginning to define themselves. The wanderings of the races had almost ceased, and the people were settling down into their permanent homes. At the same time, while the various nations were thus drawing apart within local boundaries of which the precise limits were, indeed, in many cases but imperfectly determined, certain general influences were operating incessantly and irresistibly to unite them as they had never before been united as members of a vast and real, however vague, moral commonwealth.

Chief among these uniting influences was Christianity. For it not only subjected all believers, whatever their difference of race and custom, to a common rule of interior life, bringing all under one universally acknowledged, supreme authority, but it also filled their imaginations with common hopes and fears, and supplied their understandings with common conceptions of the universe, of the origin and order of the world, and of the destiny of man.

The Church, in which the authority of Christianity was organized and embodied as the divine instrument

for the government of the world, claimed universal obedience. Within her pale there was no distinction of race or of person. Her discipline exacted of all men equal submission. Her ceremonial observances were celebrated everywhere with a uniform and impressive ritual. Her sacraments were essential to salvation. By the vast mass of ecclesiastical tradition and legend she afforded the material of thought, fancy, and feeling to the whole body of Christian people; and by fixing her chief seat at Rome she had secured the inheritance of a large share of the superstitious reverence with which the paramount dominion of the mistress of the ancient world had been regarded from of old.

While she thus asserted her authority over the spiritual concerns of men, and extended it over many of their material interests, the tradition of the right of Rome to the government of the world survived also in the name of the Roman Empire, transmitting to the inheritor of the title of emperor, whoever he might be, the claim to hold, by equally divine right, the sword of earthly sovereignty. The Empire was, in truth, often, and for long periods, little more than a name for an ideal institution; but this name was the source of the most prevailing political theory of the Middle Ages; and such was the force of the idea behind the name that it sufficed to hold the greater part of Europe in allegiance, binding together the North and the South—Germany and Italy—as under a yoke of fate; so that, in spite of difference of race, tradition, language, and cus-

tom, in spite of mutual hatred and incessant war, the people of the two lands were compelled to advance along the path of history with a common and controlling sentiment for the image and authority of imperial Rome.

Associated with the idea of the Empire of Rome, yet distinct from it, and even more effective as an influence in giving unity to the civilization of Europe, was the body of legal principles and political conceptions derived from the system of Roman law and administration — principles and conceptions which, though greatly and variously modified by the laws and customs of the Teutonic races, had yet a large share in determining the new moral order of society.

The contrast to the conditions of the ancient world wrought by the influence of these dominant elements of unity is of the most striking character. For the first time in history the people of nations of diverse origin, language, and tradition were brought and held together by the indissoluble ties of a common faith and a common rule of conduct, as well as by generally corresponding convictions in respect to legal government and civil order. Under the diversified forms of institutions varied by local conditions, these principles moulded into general similarity the broad features of the inner as well as the outer life of men throughout Western Europe.

But besides the influences exerted by the Church and the Empire—by the Rome of the present and the past—to create and foster the moral unity of mediæval

society, there were others of a more material nature. Wherever life and property acquired some degree of security, however imperfect, commerce, still half piratical, and exposed to peril on sea and land, began to weave her fine, strong network of mutual interests between distant lands. Venice, daughter of the waves, led the way across the seas with her fleets, ready alike for battle or for trade. The sails of Pisa and Genoa flew close behind. Before long, the intelligence of the artisans of Florence made their city the inland rival of the wealthy seaports. In Germany, in France, in England, one town after another began to grow strong and rich by industry and traffic.

Still another source of unity lay in the fact that the ruin of the old civilization had been so complete; that in the fall of the ancient order the ancient culture had become extinct. Many of the old sources of knowledge were choked; no one race or people possessed any absolute intellectual or material pre-eminence; the mental development of all was alike rude and childish, and the most enlightened men were everywhere groping about in uncertain gloom to collect the scattered materials for the reconstruction of learning. The very equality of ignorance tended to produce community of sentiment. The mental interests of men were everywhere similar in kind; their chief topics of thought for the most part alike.

Thus, towards the beginning of the second thousand years of our era, the greater part of Europe was divid-

ing itself into distinct nations, different in historic experience and intermixture of blood, but yet united by many mutual relations and by common tendencies of civilization, so as to form a vague commonwealth in which the higher interests of man—religion, law, knowledge—the deep-rooted traditions common to the European race, and the most widely dominant institutions were operating with irregular but constant force to bring its discordant members into closer moral connection with each other than had been possible in any previous epoch of history.

This essential and characteristic feature of the modern world, this main distinction between ancient and modern civilization, finds its clearest and most brilliant expression in the art of architecture from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The motives which inspired the great buildings of this period, the principles which underlay their forms, the general character of the forms themselves, were, in their essential nature, the same throughout Western Europe from Italy to England. The differences in the works of different lands are but local and external varieties. This intrinsic similarity of spirit gives unity to the history of the art, and makes it practicable to treat even a fragment of it, such as that of church-building, not merely as a study of separate edifices, but as a clear and brilliant illustration of the general conditions of society, and especially of its moral and intellectual dispositions.

No precise date can be fixed for the reawakening of

the arts in the Middle Ages. The dawn was gradual, and broke earlier in one region than another. Wherever, in free or imperial city, in royal or monastic domain, such a degree of order was established that regular and legal modes of life became customary, and men could look forward beyond the narrow horizon of their own lives with confidence of transmitting their remembrance and their property to their successors, wealth began to accumulate, intelligence revived.

As life became richer and more settled, the range of sentiment and of thought widened. Men felt unwonted need of utterance and communication, and language and the arts answered to the strong inward emotion. There was a close parallel in their conditions. The Roman tongue had suffered a slow corruption. Rudeness and barbarism had wrought their worst with it. It broke up into various dialects; the dialects themselves were in process of constant change. In the South as well as in the North the elements of Teutonic tongues became more and more mingled with it. The time came when no layman used Latin in his daily conversation. At length, after this long confusion, after unforeseen and unintended transformations and mutations, new languages were found to exist—languages supple, fresh, differing in composition and in virtue, sufficient not only for the transient needs of intercourse, but for the permanent ends of literature, and capable of modulation to the finest forms of poetry—each not a degraded ancient language, but a new language with

qualities and advantages of its own, requiring only to be developed by use in order to afford the fit garb for every mood of sentiment and every tone of thought.

Among the arts, the one that has alike the closest and the widest relations to the life of a people—to its wants, habits, and culture—and which gives the fullest and most exact expression to its moral disposition, its imagination, and its intelligence, is that of architecture. Its history during the Dark Ages had been analogous to that of language. The requirements it had had to meet were in great part confined to those of immediate necessity. There was little thought of building for posterity. But as the condition of society slowly changed for the better the improvement found manifestation in architecture even earlier than in literature. The growing sense of perpetuity in the life of the community promoted the revival of permanent and monumental building. The new structures showed their derivation from ancient models, but they were instinct with an original spirit by which design and construction were to be gradually but profoundly modified in response to the needs and desires of men controlled by ideas, sentiments, and emotions widely different from those of the ancient world.

There are many indications of this revival as early as the last quarter of the tenth century,* but the year

* The existing Church of St. Mark at Venice and the Duomo of Murano were begun at this period; but Venice was more advanced in civilization than any other part of Europe.

1000 may be taken as a convenient date to mark the setting-in of a strong current of progress in the art, which, for nearly two hundred and fifty years, runs on through ever deepening and widening channels. From this time the successive steps may be traced by which it advanced with constant increase of power of expression, of pliability and variety of adaptation, of beauty in design and skill in construction, until, at last, in the consummate splendor of such a cathedral as that of Our Lady of Chartres or of Amiens, it reached a height of achievement that has never been surpassed.

It was especially in the building of churches that the impulse for expression in architecture displayed itself, for it was in the church that the faith of the community took visible form. The two motives which have been most effective in the production of noble human works—religion and local affection and pride—united to stimulate energies that had long been suppressed. Either alone or in combination, these two most powerful principles of action were alike existent in their highest force. The nature of mediæval society cannot be understood, the meaning and character of a mediæval cathedral will not be comprehended, the devotion and sacrifices of the builders of churches in city and village, in desert places and on mountain-tops, unless the imagination represent the force and constancy of religious motives in a rude society, and the commanding position which the Church then occu-

pied towards the world as the recognized representative of the Divine government, and the authoritative expounder of the Divine will. The lawlessness and rapine prevalent during the Dark Ages, the oppression of the weak, the misery of the poor, the uncertainty of life and possession among all classes, the contrast between the actual state of society and the conceptions of the kingdom of heaven, of which the Church was the visible though imperfect type, brought all men to her doors.

In the midst of darkness and confusion and dread, the ideal Church—and it is by ideal and fanciful conceptions that men of imperfectly trained intelligence are apt to be most powerfully and permanently affected—presented herself as a harbor of refuge from the storms of the world, as the image of the city of God, whose walls were a sure defence. While all else was unstable and changeful, she, with her unbroken tradition and her uninterrupted services, vindicated the principle of order and the moral continuity of the race. Superstition, natural in a period of low culture, stimulated piety, and displayed itself in ardors of irrational and imaginative devotion, of which the first Crusades afford a striking instance. No sacrifice by which their faith might be witnessed, no effort to secure salvation, seemed extreme to men in this temper. The doctrines of the Church in respect to heaven and hell lent themselves to material interpretation. The endowment of monasteries, the building of churches, were works by

which the Divine favor was to be secured and the soul to be saved.

A deep, wide-spread conviction of human sinfulness was one of the characteristic traits of these times, having its root not so much in the doctrine of the fallen nature of man as in the fact of the prevalence of crime, immorality, and suffering. The Church alone could lift from the world the burden of its sin; and though her ministers might fall short of fulfilling their high calling, though pope, prelate, and priest might be partakers in violence and partners in sin, yet the Church remained pure, steadfastly upholding the power of righteousness, preaching the coming of the Lord to judge the earth, asserting her claim to loose and to bind, and vindicating it with the blood of confessors and martyrs.

But, besides all this, the Church was the great popular institution of the Middle Ages, cheering and protecting the poor and friendless; the teacher, the healer, the feeder of the "little people of God." The services of monastic and secular clergy alike, their offices of faith, charity, and labor in the field and the hovel, in the school and the hospital, as well as in the church, were for centuries the chief witnesses of the spirit of human brotherhood, and of the one essential doctrine of Christianity. In times when lord and serf were farthest apart, when the villain had no rights but those of the beasts which perish, the Church read the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and declared the equality of man in the presence of God.

Her priesthood, spread abroad over the world, formed a vast corporation, inspired by similar motives, linked by common interests, and supplying to a distracted society the priceless example of strength that had its source in unity. For every member of this vast body of the priesthood was strong, not only in the sanctity of his office, but in the numbers and the sympathy of his brethren, and in the authority of the Church herself. The clergy formed the first general society in Europe, and it was through their intercourse that some semblance of interchange of thought was maintained among widely separated nations.

It was not strange, then, that when, towards the close of the tenth century, in various parts of Europe, the sense of increasing civil order and security was distinctly felt, one of the first signs of this improvement was a general zeal for the building of churches—a work of piety to which all, poor and rich, weak and strong, alike could contribute, and in the merits of which all could have a share. It was a work for the glory of God and of his Mother, for the honor of the saints, for the credit of the community, for the eternal benefit of every individual. The hearts and the imaginations of all men were engaged in it; the dispersed resources of the people were brought together to achieve it; capacities that had long been unused were evoked, and, as in other ages, a vivid and earnest faith found its just and characteristic expression.

According to the testimony of a contemporary eye-

witness, Rudolphus Glaber, or Rudolph the Bald, a monk of Cluny, just after the thousandth year had passed, men began throughout almost all the world, but especially in Italy and France, to rebuild the churches, and in more noble style than that before in use. "It was as if the earth," such is his picturesque phrase, "rousing itself and casting away its old robes, clothed itself with the white garment of churches." *

Of these new churches, a great number were those of abbeys and monasteries. The inestimable services which, during the most troubled times, the religious or-

* "Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate, passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret." *Historiæ sui Temporis*, lib. iii. cap. vi.; *De Innovatione Ecclesiarum in toto Orbe.* Rudolph the Bald's History of his Own Time, from the election of Hugh Capet to the year 1046, gives a striking picture of the material and intellectual conditions of the period. The fables and miracles with which the book abounds afford many illustrations of the spiritual temper of the age. It was first printed by Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptores*, tom. iv. pp. 1–58; it is included by Migne in his *Patrologia*, tom. cxlii. In connection with this general impulse of church-building, Rudolph says that about this time many relics of saints that had long lain hidden were discovered. "Candidato, ut diximus, in novatis Ecclesiarum basilicis, universo mundo, subsequenti tempore, id est anno octavo infra prædictum millesimum humanati Salvatoris annum [1008], revelata sunt, diversorum argumentorum indiciis, quorsum diu latuerant, plurimorum Sanctorum pignora." *Ibid.* cap. vi. The effect of this discovery was to quicken and maintain the ardor of the pious, and to secure constant and abundant contributions to the work.

The renewal of monumental building in the eleventh century has often been ascribed to the sense of relief and security experienced by the Christian community after the completion of the first thousand years of our era, there having been, it is asserted, a general apprehension of the end of the world at this date. This belief was, doubtless, wide-spread, but it was by no means universal, and there is abundant evidence to show that it had not prevented men, towards the close of the tenth century, from undertaking works intended for long duration.

ders had rendered to society, by maintaining the standard of self-discipline, of obedience, of humility and charity; by cherishing the faint and almost expiring coals of letters and learning and the arts; by the shelter and immunity which they afforded not only to their own brethren, but to the poor people settled on their lands; by their well-directed labor on the soil and in the mechanic arts, as well as by the powerful influence of their example as centres of orderly life—all these services had been rewarded by the increase of their possessions and their power. Exemptions and privileges, the donations and bequests of the pious and the penitent, had enriched the abbeys and monasteries in all parts of Europe, and had extended their domains till they included a vast portion of the land.*

The original churches of the monasteries, which had been for the most part humble, but sufficient for their early needs, were little befitting their increased size, dignity, and wealth. The time had come for the building of churches which should correspond to these new conditions, and the arts which had long found shelter

* It is not possible to determine with accuracy the proportion of the soil held respectively by the regular and the secular clergy. "They did enjoy," says Hallam, "according to some authorities, nearly one half of England, and I believe a greater proportion in some countries of Europe." *Europe during the Middle Ages*, ch. vii. pt. i.; compare Milman, *Latin Christianity*, bk. xiv. ch. i. Mr. Bryce, speaking of Germany, says, "In the eleventh century, a full half of the land and wealth of the country, and no small part of its military strength, was in the hands of Churchmen." *The Holy Roman Empire* (1866), ch. viii. p. 140. In France a similar state of things existed; the domains of the great abbeys, such as Cluny and St. Denis, were of the size of provinces.

and nurture in the cloister were to repay the debt many-fold.

The secular clergy were not slow in following the example of their regular brethren. They not only recognized the advantage to the Church, as a popular institution, to be derived from the general zeal in church-building, but they also shared in the common emotion, and took part in the common labor. The bishops promoted the erection both of cathedrals and of parish churches. In Germany, for instance, where the bishops of the more powerful sees exercised civil no less than ecclesiastical authority, almost as independent princes, the activity in church-building under their lead during the first half of the eleventh century was enormous.* The work was encouraged by a succession of devout and vigorous emperors. There is a tradition that the foundations of three churches, two of them the mightiest of the time—the Minster at Limburg, the Cathedral at Speier, and the Church of St. John the Evangelist in the same city — were laid on one day, in 1030, by the great emperor Conrad II. The fact is questionable, but the story represents the spirit of the age.†

Many of the new designs were on such a scale as to require for their execution the toil and the contributions of more than one generation of believers.

* Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (1871), Band iv. p. 328.

† F. von Quast, *Die romanischen Dome des Mittelrheins zu Mainz, Speier, Worms* (1853), p. 25; Otte, *Geschichte der deutschen Baukunst* (1874), p. 220.

The work was aided by imperial subsidies, by episcopal privileges and indulgences, by gifts from the episcopal revenues. The massive piles rose with grandeur above the clustering roofs at their feet, and threw their broad shadows, like a protecting mantle, over city or hamlet. Of the multitude of churches erected in Germany during this period, most have disappeared—many of them burned, many ruined by war or other violence, many remodelled; but a few, such as the great Rhenish cathedrals of Mainz, of Speier, and of Worms, still exist, more or less changed, but enduring monuments of the emotions and sentiments to which their builders sought to give expression, as well as of the intelligence and the art with which the zeal of the community was served.*

In Italy the Church held a different position from that which it occupied in the Western nations of Europe. Great as its services to civilization in Italy had been, it had not been the sole ark of the higher interests of society. The imperial traditions of Rome had been here more than elsewhere a strong principle of

* "The grandeur of the whole building," says Von Quast, speaking of the Cathedral at Speier, "which of all Romanesque churches makes the most powerful impression on the beholder, and the simplicity of its detail, which approaches even to rudeness, correspond in every respect to the character which it should possess, founded as it was by an emperor, and zealously carried to completion by his successors at the height of the power of the German Empire, in the eleventh century, in order that it should serve as the resting-place of the highest earthly rulers of the world." *Die romanischen Dome des Mittelrheins*, p. 27. Earthly pride was often combined as a strong motive with pious devotion in the erection and adornment of these buildings.

order throughout the confusions of centuries in which the change from the ancient to the modern world had been going on. Something of Roman culture and of Roman institutions, at least in the suggestive form of memories of past achievements, had been saved for Italy from the wreck of the empire. This very predominance of Rome deprived the clergy in other cities of Italy of a portion of such authority as they exercised in more remote localities. The episcopal sees were, indeed, even more numerous than in other lands; but they were of less extent, their revenues were generally of less amount, and their bishops rarely possessed that independent sovereign authority which those at a greater distance from Rome frequently exercised. Thus, though there was great activity in church-building in Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the upper clergy had less to do with the work than in Germany or England. It was mainly the expression of the piety of the citizens of towns in which wealth was accumulating, and of the spirit of a community animated with a sense of independence and of strength, and becoming confident of perpetuity.* The new cathedral in an Italian city was the witness of civic as well as of religious devotion, of pride and of patriotism consecrated by piety.

* Muratori remarks on the display of piety in the free cities after the year 1000: "Particolarmente poi dopo l' anno millesimo, e dappoichè buona parte delle città d' Italia riacquistò la libertà, ciascuna d' esse gareggiò per onorare al possibile il Santo suo tutelare." *Delle Antichità Italiane,* dissert. 58, tomo iii. parte i. p. 241.

It was also the sign of the favor of Heaven in the bestowal of the prosperity of which it gave evidence.

While the common character of the prevailing spiritual influences by which the various nations of Europe were affected is shown by this wide-spread zeal in church-building, a similar indication of the common stage of development at which they had arrived is afforded by the essential likeness in the style of their edifices. Under the general likeness, there were, indeed, marked varieties. In Venice and the South of Italy, for example, architecture borrowed more than in the rest of Europe from the East. In Florence and in Rome herself the tradition of ancient Rome exercised a more exclusive influence than elsewhere. But from the Duomo of Pisa to the Cathedral of Mainz, from the churches of the Arno to those of the Rhine and the Seine, from Monte-Cassino to Cluny and Durham, one ruling style is to be traced under which innumerable differences of plan, detail, and construction arrange themselves as local peculiarities or progressive historical developments.

The name *Romanesque*, which has been given to this style, very nearly corresponds with the term *Romance* as applied to a group of languages. It signifies the derivation of the main elements, both of plan and of construction, from the works of the later Roman Empire. But Romanesque architecture was not, as it has been called, "a corrupted imitation of the Roman archi-

tecture,"* any more than the Provençal or the Italian language was a corrupted imitation of the Latin. It was a new thing, the slowly matured product of a long period and of many influences. The architect of the court of Diocletian's great palace at Spalato and the builder of the little Duomo of Torcello, though separated by seven hundred years, used similar constructive methods, adopted similar forms, and supported their arches upon columns in the same fashion; but the work of one was classic, of the other mediæval. The outward resemblances are strong, but no one could suppose the two buildings to proceed from the same spirit, or to express the sentiment of the same age.†

* Whewell, *Architectural Notes on German Churches* (3d ed., Cambridge, 1842), p. 48. In his omniscience, Dr. Whewell included an unusual knowledge of architecture. This book still retains its value for students.

† The Palace of Diocletian was built near the beginning of the fourth century, when the emperor, abdicating the government, retired "to grow cabbages" during his last years in his native province of Dalmatia. The arcade of the court is remarkable as one of the earliest known instances of arched construction in which the arches spring directly from the capitals of the columns which support them. This step in the development of arched architecture, the importance of which Mr. Freeman exaggerates in an interesting paper on "The Origin and Growth of Romanesque Architecture," in the *Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1872, marks the point at which the builders of the Middle Ages took up the art.

A fine plate of the court is given by Adam, in his *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro* (1864), one of those superb works of investigation and delineation of ancient architecture which, from the *Antiquities of Athens* of Stuart and Revett to the *Principles of Athenian Architecture* by Penrose, have done credit to the energy and the learning of English architects.

The Duomo at Torcello was, according to a doubtful tradition, origi-

The elements of the construction—the column or the pier and the round arch, the broad spaces of solid walls, and their strongly marked horizontal lines—these and other features were common to the Roman and the mediæval building. But the members of the architecture became plastic in the hands of the mediæval builders, acquiring new life and character. The arch, as the controlling element of the structure, was moulded with an admirable effect unknown to the Romans. Compelled often to use materials of small size in the construction of arches of great dimensions, the mediæval builders followed the method of the earliest times—of which the Cloaca Maxima itself gives an example—in building the arches in *rims*, or several concentric layers, one over the other, each layer forming a distinct arch; but instead of building them square through the heavy wall, they made only the upper arched layer of the full width of the wall, and recessed each of the subordinate rims, thus securing not only economy of material, but play of light and shade, a freer opening for light, and full opportunity for variety of rich ornamentation. The change thus introduced was of far-reaching effect. The support

nally built in the seventh century; it was restored or rebuilt in 864, and again in 1008. This last church exists essentially unaltered, protected by the desolation of the little island on which it stands. The best account of it is in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. ii. See also Mothes, *Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs* (Leipzig, 1859), pp. 26 seq.

When the Duomo of Torcello was finally rebuilt, Spalato was subject to the dominion of Venice. Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xxii. p. 468 D.

of the arch, whether pier or column, was shaped to match with its various orders. Each rim rested on a corresponding division of the support; the pier was subdivided to meet the subordination of the arch; the column, from being single, became clustered. The transformation was not effected all at once. It was the result of experiment on experiment, of step after step of progress. And it was not a solitary improvement. The builders exercised their imagination and their reason conjointly on every part of the construction.*

In the matter of plan, the forms which the Roman Christians had adopted as suitable to the requirements of ceremony and worship were still, in great part, fitted to meet the needs of the Church after the lapse of five or six hundred years. But the builders of the eleventh century did not simply adopt the ancient forms. The plans, no less than the construction of their buildings, were gradually modified, with slow development but with rational and regular procedure, in accordance with the demands and the sentiment of the new time.

In Italy, where the tradition of building on a great scale had never completely perished, the power of original design and of skilful execution of architectural works displayed itself as soon as the new impulse of church-building was strongly felt. The Italian builders—or, more strictly, the Tuscan builders—possessed

* The subject is well treated from the architectural point of view in Sir Gilbert Scott's *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediæval Architecture* (1879), vol. i. p. 223.

a sense of dignity of proportion and of elegance of decoration such as was nowhere else displayed. The ancient, inextinguishable genius of Etruria shone out once more with pre-eminent brightness. The Duomo of Fiesole, the exquisite Church of San Miniato al Monte near Florence, the Duomo at Pisa, are examples of the work of the Tuscan architects of the eleventh century. In other countries the designs did not lack in grandeur, but they were less noble in proportions, less refined in ornament, and less beautiful, if not less impressive, in effect. Everywhere the art showed itself capable of meeting the demand upon it for structures that should embody in permanent form the fervid spirit of the time. The education of the cloister had prepared artists competent for the work which was required, while others sprang from among the laity, trained by the discipline of familiar industries.*

* It has been asserted by most writers on the history of the arts of the Middle Ages that up to the twelfth century the practice of the fine arts was confined to the clergy. "Alle Kunst nur von der Kirche, und besonders von den Sitzen grösserer Strenge, von den Klöstern, ausging." "Jedenfalls aber waren die Klöster und Domschulen die einzigen Bildungsstätten der Künstler." Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (1871), Band iv. pp. 326, 327. "Ainsi avant le douzième siècle . . . l'architecture est dans les mains du clergé; . . . au treizième siècle, au contraire, . . . l'art de bâtir n'appartient qu'aux laïques." Vitet, *Études sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, deuxième série, *Notre-Dame de Noyon*, p. 131. That most of the culture of the age, including that of the fine arts, was in the hands of the clergy is unquestionably true. The cloister supplied many of the architects, painters, sculptors, overseers of works, and even many of the workmen themselves. But at no time were lay artists wholly wanting. Springer, in his treatise *De Artificibus Monachis et Laicis Medii Ævi* (1861), gives a large selection of ex-

In the history of architecture there are few passages of study more interesting than that of the development of the various forms of Romanesque, and of the gradual evolution, in the course of the twelfth century, of the new forms and principles of the Gothic style. There are no gaps in the record of this progress. From the vast Romanesque church of the mighty Benedictine Abbey of Cluny, through the multitude of the churches of the Cistercian Order erected in the early part of the twelfth century, to the famous church built by the great Abbot Suger at St. Denis, the increasing use of the pointed arch is to be clearly traced, from its first timid employment in construction, till it appears where no constructive advantage is gained by it, and the choice marks a change not only of method but also of taste. And then, from St. Denis and Vézelay to the cathedrals of the Île de France, the supremacy of this arch asserts itself more and more, modifying every portion of the structure in conformity with its imperative lines, until the whole is changed into the new style, and Gothic architecture stands complete. The course of this transformation was no less regular than rapid. Each step of progress was based on intelligent application of principle. The builder was at once artist and man of science, and one knows not which to admire

tracts from inscriptions and documents in proof of this fact. The proportion of lay artists increased in the twelfth century. As a broad statement, it may be said that Romanesque art mainly proceeded from the clergy, while Gothic art received its fullest development from the hands of lay artists.

most — the imagination in the design, or the invention and intelligence in the accomplishment of the work.

Never did the varied thoughts, the complex sentiments, the multiplied fancies and emotions of a sensitive, active, and passionate age, find such complete, such superb expression as within the hundred and fifty years from 1150 to 1300; for the building of church or cathedral had now become not only the work of religious zeal or patriotic enthusiasm, but also of poetic inspiration. The sense of beauty, which had been weak, through want of nurture, during the Dark Ages before the eleventh century, had gradually grown stronger and stronger, till at length the love of beauty had become a controlling motive of expression, and gave direction to the moral and intellectual energies called into play by religious or patriotic sentiment. The mediæval ideal of beauty was, indeed, not less narrow than the moral ideal of the time, but it was not less genuine. It did not embrace the whole creation; it was perverted by ascetic prepossessions and by superstitious fears. But men had begun to feel anew the pleasantness of the world, to take fresh delight in the flowers of the field, in the song of birds, in the grace of the body and the charm of human expression, in the splendor of colors and the play of lights and shadows, in the harmonies and contrasts of line, in symmetries of form. This reawakened sense of beauty, which in most men was still vague, illusory,

undefined, filled the consciousness of the artist with definite conceptions capable of realization in his art. He thus became the interpreter to itself of his own generation. In the fullest sympathy with his contemporaries, because the sources of his inspiration were the natural sources of spiritual life common to them and to him, but from which he drew more deeply than the rest, he revealed their own inward selves, and enlarged the scope of their imaginings. There was nothing of classic idealism in his work; it was modern and romantic in the sense that in it the matter predominated over the form. Its moral import was, indeed, his chief concern; and his work at its best illustrates, with peculiar simplicity and distinctness, the truth which has determined the character of all supreme artistic production — that in the highest forms of human expression morality and beauty are inseparable.

The love of beauty, the charm of the beauty in the world, had led him to the study of nature, and the result of this study was apparent in his work. Directly displayed in sculpture and in painting, it showed itself in architecture so far as these arts were called into its service; and never had they contributed to enhance its power and effect to the degree in which they contributed during the great period of Gothic building. The efforts of the Gothic designer to conform his works to nature often fell short of their aim. His power of execution was often inferior to his concep-

tion. He was an apprentice, not yet a master, in the rendering of the aspects of man and the outer world. But he rejected the conventional types of representation transmitted from his predecessors, substituting for them his own fresh delineations, the expression of an immediate and individual sentiment. It was no wonder that his art touched and excited the susceptible feelings of simple beholders, moving them to penitence and tears, or to unwonted gladness and hope.*

The field for the exercise of the arts, thus inspired with creative impulse, was by no means limited to the Church. Architecture, sculpture, and painting were employed in secular no less than in religious buildings, in the castle of the noble and in the house of the burgher.†

The spirit of art penetrated every department of life,

* "Et videmus aliquando simplices et idiotas qui verbis vix ad fidem gestorum possunt perduci, ex pictura passionis Dominicæ vel aliorum mirabilium ita compungi, ut lachrymis testentur exteriores figuras cordi suo impressas." Walafrid Strabo, *De Officiis Divinis, sive de Ecclesiasticarum Rerum Exordiis et Incrementis*, cap. viii.; in Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, tom. cxiii. Walafrid Strabo wrote in the ninth century, but his testimony is good for a later time.

† "It was a great period," says Sir Gilbert Scott, "and its greatness seemed to pervade even the most secluded districts. . . . Let us not imagine that the architecture of the age developed itself only in cathedrals, abbeys, or churches of any kind; all other buildings evince the same spirit. A barn of the thirteenth century shows the nobleness of the pervading style as clearly as even the cathedral itself, and what remains of their [*sic*] domestic architecture tells the same tale. Everything was done *well*, in good taste, and in accordance with reasonable and practical requirements and the means at command." *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i. p. 203. Sir Gilbert's wide acquaintance with Romanesque and Gothic work in England gives value to his assertion.

and gave form to all the products of design. There is a solidarity in the arts; they do not flourish in isolated independence. So at this time art exhibited itself in the least no less than in the greatest things, in the articles of common use as well as of display—in the weaving and embroidery of stuffs; in the shape and ornament of dress; in metal-work of all sorts—the work of the blacksmith no less than of the goldsmith; in armor; in jewelry; in articles for the service of the table or the altar; in the wood-work of the carpenter and the joiner; in the calligraphy and illumination of manuscripts. Whatever the hand found to do, that it did under the guidance of artistic fancy and feeling.

But it was in the great church edifice that many arts were united, as in no other work, in a single joint and indivisible product of their highest energies. From the pavement rich with mosaic of tile or marble, or inlaid with the sepulchral slabs of those who in life had knelt upon it, up to the cross that gleamed on the airy summit of the central spire, each separate feature, instinct with the life of art, contributed to the organic unity of the consummate masterpiece of creative imagination. Religious enthusiasm, patriotic pride, the strongest sentiments of the community, the deepest feelings of each individual, found here their most poetic expression.

It might be supposed that of buildings so remarkable as these—buildings which occupied so large a place in the thoughts and labors of the generations by

which they were erected, and in which the faith of the time found its most complete visible expression—full accounts would have come down to us from those who were engaged in or who witnessed their construction. One might expect that all that related to monuments so important, by which the aspect of the landscape was changed, and which formed the most prominent object in city and country, would have been described in detail by contemporaries who beheld them rise and shared in the emotions from which they proceeded. But such is not the case.* Little information concerning them, compared with their social and historical importance, has come down to us from the period of which they are the most impressive and instructive memorials. Such reference as is made to them in the annals of the times is seldom more than a brief and often untrustworthy record of dates, or a narrative of some miracle by which the work was favored, or a dry notice of some trifling incident of the construction. Even the poets fail to show sympathy with the popular emotion as expressed in these creations of the imagination. It would seem as if the intensity of the motive of these works interfered with attention to the works themselves. Most of the mediæval ro-

* "Ce qui est rare, ce qui est merveilleux, c'est une église que ses contemporains aient regardé bâtir et sur laquelle ils aient bien voulu nous laisser des notions exactes et précises." Vitet, *Études*, "Notre-Dame de Noyon," p. 15. "Si l'on cherche dans le Cartulaire des renseignements relatifs à la construction de l'église de Notre-Dame, on est surpris de n'en trouver d'aucune espèce." Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'Église Notre-Dame de Paris*, tom. i. préf. § 52, p. clxvii.

mances did not, indeed, receive their final literary form till after the strong impulse of building had passed its height. But it is curious how little illustration they afford of contemporary art. Now and then, however, they give us a picture in which the artistic aspect of the time is reproduced. In one of the most popular of the early French romances, that of Renaut de Montauban, the hero, after a life of adventure, goes in disguise to Cologne, and there, in order to save his soul, engages as a common workman on the Cathedral. The account of his hiring, of his labor in carrying stone and mortar, of the way of life of the workmen, of the jealousy he excites among them, and of his death at their hands, is full of interest in its picturesque detail.* In the later romance of Gérard de Roussillon there is a long narrative of the foundation of the beautiful church at Vézelay, in honor of St. Mary Magdalen, and of the forwarding of the building by the Countess Beatrice, the wife of Gérard. Like Renaut, the Countess labored with her own hands, and in such a spirit that a miracle, of which her husband was witness, gave proof of the favor and of the power of Heaven.† But these romantic episodes do not supply the place of connected description.

* *Renaus de Montauban* (ed. Michelant, Stuttgart, 1862), pp. 445–450.

† *Gérart de Rossillon* (ed. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1856), pp. 267–276. The story is told at length in this *Provençal* version of the Romance. In the version in the *langue d'Oc* it is narrated more briefly, and with different circumstances; see *Girart de Rossillon* (ed. Mignard, Paris, 1858), pp. 229–233.

To this general lack of full information there are a few notable exceptions. The Abbot Suger's vivid account of his rebuilding of the famous Abbey Church of St. Denis, dedicated in 1144;* the letter of the Abbot Haimon concerning the building of the Church of St. Pierre sur Dives,† and that of the Archbishop of Rouen (in 1145) in regard to the emotion in his diocese at the time of the building of the old Cathedral at Chartres;‡ the poem of Jehan le Marchant on the Miracles of Our Lady in the rebuilding of the Cathedral in 1194;§ the monk Gervase's description of the rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral after its destruction by fire in 1174‖—are, each in its kind, of the highest interest, as giving information concerning the motives and the methods of the builders of the respective works, as well as in throwing light upon the general spiritual conditions of the times.

In regard to some of the great churches, the records of building have been preserved with more or less

* *Libellus de consecratione ecclesiæ a se ædificatæ*, etc., in Duchesne, *Hist. Fran. Script.* tom. iv. pp. 350–359.

† Fragments of this interesting letter are in Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. vi. pp. 393 sqq. It was first printed complete by M. Léopold Delisle in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 5e série, vol. i., Paris, 1860.

‡ Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. vi. p. 328.

§ *Le Livre des Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, par Jehan Le Marchant. Publié pour la première fois par M. G. Duplessis, Chartres, 1855.

‖ *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Dorobornensis ecclesiæ*, in Twysden, *Hist. Anglic. Script.* pp. 1285–1303. An excellent translation of this important little work is given by Professor Willis in his admirable *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1845.

completeness; and when the church was the work of a civic community, the civic records in some instances afford the material for its history. But, with all these aids, the supply of information concerning the course, character, and results of the great movement of the human spirit which took form in the church-building of the Middle Ages is far less abundant than could be desired.

# II

# VENICE AND ST. MARK'S

## II.

### *VENICE AND ST. MARK'S.*

No city in the world appeals more strongly to the poetic imagination than Venice. Her site, her people, her history, her institutions, her art, are all alike unique. Appearing first as a little group of fishermen's huts on a sand-bank in the midst of a waste of waters, her solitude and her humility afforded protection to successive bands of exiles flying from ancient cities of the mainland to escape from the scourge of the Northern barbarians, who thronged through the passes of the Eastern Alps to share in the spoils of the ruined empire of Rome. Secure within her broad moat of waves, her foundations were firmly set.* Rising in the dawn of modern Europe, she linked the tradition of the old civilization to the fresh conditions of the new. Independent from the first, her people framed and administered their own institutions. The destiny that ruled her beginnings seemed, as she grew, to have had no element of chance, but to have been determined by foresight and wise counsel. Her posi-

* "Hæc celebris et inclyta civitas pro pavimento mare, pro muro aquas maris, et pro tecto cœlum habet." Durantino, *De Amplissimis Laudibus Venetæ Urbis* (1522), p. 36 b.

tion was unrivalled. She lay fronting the East, and the Adriatic opened before her a broad pathway for commerce and for conquest, while tributary rivers on either hand brought the trade of the Western mainland to her gates.

In the character of her people, intelligence and energy were combined with fancy and sentiment as in no other Western race. Her statesmen were the ablest, her merchants the most adventurous and the most successful, her seamen the boldest, her craftsmen the most skilful of their time. Her artists were quick to give fine expression to the new moods of the Middle Ages; her gentlemen were the first in Europe, and the first modern ladies were Venetian. She lacked, however, a poet. Her life and feeling found utterance in other modes of art. She was her own poem.

The affection in which she was held by her people had the depth and intensity of a passion. The large spirit of national patriotism was hardly felt in Italy during the Middle Ages. Its place was occupied by a narrow local sentiment which the natural and political divisions of the land stimulated often to a degree fatal to peace, to prosperity, even to honor. But in Venice this local spirit was justified by the peculiar conditions of her existence. She was nation as well as city to her people. "First Venetians and then Christians" was a saying which stood her in good stead. First Venetians and then Italians was the abiding sense of her citizens. Cut off by the sea from the mainland,

she held herself aloof, and through all her better days it was her steady policy to keep herself free from entangling alliance with any of the Italian states.

Her interests lay upon the sea, and she sought to extend her dominion over the islands and coasts of the Adriatic and the Ægean, over Crete and Cyprus, and to obtain settlement and power still farther east, rather than to increase her Italian territory. Her close relations with the East affected the character and temper of her people.* The commerce with distant and strange lands developed in the Venetians not only foresight and gravity of counsel, strength of purpose, steadiness of will, firmness in peril, and calmness in success, but also the love of adventure, the taste for splendor, the sense of color, and a capacity for romantic emotion. The charm and mystery of the East pervaded the atmosphere of Venice. Mere trade became poetic while dealing with the spices of Arabia, the silks of Damascus, the woven stuffs of Persia, the pearls of Ceylon, or the rarer products of the wonderful regions whence travellers like Marco Polo brought back true stories that rivalled the inventions of Arabian story-tellers. The ships of Venice were the signiors and rich burghers of the sea. Refinement increased with wealth; and while the feudal nobles of the main-

* The trade of Venice with the East began very early. The Monk of St. Gall, in his account of Charlemagne, written near the end of the ninth century, speaks of the Venetians in the days of Charlemagne bringing "de transmarinis partibus omnes Orientalium divitias." *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. ii. cap. xxvii,

land were still half barbaric in thought and custom, the civic nobles of Venice had acquired a culture that isolated them still more than they were separated by position and material interest from the natives of other cities.

Moreover, all that the Venetians acquired, whether of wealth or culture, was concentrated within the limits of their single city, and became an ever-accumulating heirloom transmitted from one generation to another. Seldom did civil discords and tumults, such as many a time devastated every other city of Italy, disturb her tranquillity; no factions of Guelf and Ghibelline, of Neri and Bianchi, divided her people into hostile camps; no army of barbarian invaders or of jealous neighbors ever sacked her houses or wasted her stores; no siege ever distressed her. And thus she grew from age to age in beauty as in strength. Her citizens were the first people of the modern world to acquire confidence in the perpetuity not only of the State, but of their personal possessions. Secure under just laws against domestic oppression, safe within the intrenchment lines of the lagoons, they built for themselves homes surpassing in stateliness and in beauty any homes of private men that the world had seen—homes not only correspondent to their own love of splendor and of comfort, but to the lofty genius of the city.*

* The Casa Dario on the Grand Canal, near San Gregorio, built about 1486, one of the most elegant of the smaller palaces of the Renaissance, bears on its façade the characteristic inscription "URBIS GENIO JOANNES DARIUS."

The perpetuity of Venice was a fixed part of the patriotic pride of her people. "Imperium stabile, perpetuum, et mansurum," says Sabellico, the first of the official historians of the republic; and Sansovino, writing seventy years later, in the middle of the sixteenth century, begins his description of the government of Venice with these confident words: "The Republic of Venice, surpassing all other states in grandeur, nobility, wealth, and every quality that may conduce to the felicity of man, hath divers members, all well ordered, as is plainly evident, since through their good disposition it hath endured for one thousand one hundred and sixty-five years, and gives sign, moreover, that it will endure forever."* *Forever* is the vainest word of man, but the glories of Venice might well seem substantial, permanent, secure. Who could foresee that the day was soon to come when but "gleaning grapes should be left in her, as the shaking of an olive-tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost fruitful branches thereof," and that it was only in memory and imagination she was to endure forever?

With such faith in their city, and such reason for it, and with affection for her quickened by the constant appeal of her material beauty, it was not strange that

* F. Sansovino, *Del Governo de' Regni et delle Republiche.* Venetia, 1567, p. 169. All her writers celebrated the city "quæ omnium bonorum amplitudine atque ubertate florescit in dies;" "domina cantatissima," . . . "qua nihil majus, nihil excellentius, nihil sanctius in toto orbe reperiri potest."

in the imaginations of her people Venice became personified as a half-divine ideal figure. She is the only city of modern times that has shared, and has deserved to share, this distinction with Rome and the other great cities of the ancient world. A mythologic legend concerning her origin and destiny gradually formed itself, in which Christian and pagan symbols were curiously intermingled, and which the Renaissance found half ready to its hand when, in accordance with its general spirit, it proceeded to introduce the deities of Olympus, in harmonious co-operation with the Virgin and the saints, for the protection and exaltation of the favored city. In almost every other city of Italy—in Verona, in Mantua, in Florence, in Siena, in Padua—the popular tradition, cherished alike by chroniclers, poets, and artists, connected the origin or the legendary fortunes of the town with royal, republican, or imperial Rome. Rome filled the imagination of mediæval Italy. Her eagle still

"Governò l' mondo lì di mano in mano."

She was mistress of all Italy except Venice. Here she had no dominion.

Christian to her core, devout in spirit, her history abounding in miracles, her imagination touched by domestic legends of saints and relics, Venice was yet as independent in her ecclesiastical relations as in her civil administration. The authority of the Pope, revered and acknowledged in all matters of faith, was

steadily and successfully resisted in all matters that pertained to her own domain. She chose her own bishops; her priests were her own citizens. She admitted no divided claim to allegiance, and would endure no subordination of her authority, even in the Church, to that of Rome. Her Church was Venetian, and not Roman, and that it was so only increased the fervor and constancy of her piety.

In the very heart of this unique and splendid city, and worthy of the city of which it was the most sacred and superb adornment, rose the church of her patron saint. Her treasure was lavished here, and her wealth consecrated; here her piety, her pride, her imagination, found expression, and here was the symbol of her power. It was under the banner that bore the winged lion of St. Mark that she won her victories and extended her dominion. The saint to her was more than St. George to England, or St. Denis to France, or St. John the Baptist to Florence, or St. Peter to Rome. He was specially her own; for, according to the tradition which she cherished, she had been destined by the will of Heaven, long before she rose from the sea, to receive and guard the body of the saint, and to flourish under his effectual protection. She believed, though the legend was never received by the Church Universal, that St. Mark had been sent by St. Peter as apostle to Aquileja, and that on his return to Rome his bark, driven by the wind, came to a landing on the low island which was the first site of the City of the Lagoons.

Here, while he was rapt in ecstasy, an angel of the Lord appeared to him and said, "Pax tibi, Marce. Hic requiescet corpus tuum." (Peace be with thee, Mark. Here shall thy body rest.) The angel went on to prophesy that a devout and faithful people would here, after many years, build a marvellous city (*mirificam urbem*), and would deserve to possess the body of the saint, and that through his merits and prayers they would be greatly blessed.*

St. Mark was martyred and buried in Alexandria. Centuries passed. Venice had founded herself solidly upon the sand heaps of the Rivo Alto and the salt marshes around it. She was gaining consciousness of independence and strength, and her people had established for themselves a settled social and political order under which they were prospering, when, according to another popular legend, in the year 829, two Venetian merchants, Buono, Tribune of Malamocco, and Rustico, of Torcello, sailing in the Mediterranean with their vessels, for the purposes of trade, were driven by stress of weather to take harbor in the port of Alexandria. There was an edict at this time forbidding the Venetians to have any dealings with the Saracens, or to repair to their ports. The Venetian mer-

* Andreæ Danduli *Chronicon*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* xii. col. 14. This chronicle of the Doge Andrea Dandolo, who died in 1354, is one of the chief and best sources of information concerning the early history of Venice. "A man early great among the great of Venice," says Mr. Ruskin, "to whose history we owe half of what we know of her former fortunes." *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. iv. He was the friend and correspondent of Petrarch.

chants, compelled to seek safety in Alexandria, visited the church in which the bones of St. Mark were preserved and venerated. It happened that at this time a certain Regulus, a ruler over the Saracens, was building a splendid palace in the city of Cairo, and was seeking for columns and slabs of marble for its adornment, taking them from sacred no less than profane edifices. The guardians of the church where the relics of St. Mark were worshipped were in fear lest it might be despoiled and desecrated, and the Venetian traders, finding them depressed and anxious, proposed to them secretly that they should allow the body of the saint to be carried to Venice, where the angel of the Lord had prophesied it would find its final resting-place. This they did in the hope that by carrying home so precious a treasure their disobedience of the edict against visiting the ports of the Saracens might be atoned for and forgiven. After long and doubtful debate, Staurazio, a monk, and Teodoro, a priest of the church, consented to the proposal. But they feared the wrath of the people if the removal of the relics should be discovered. The body of the saint, wound in silken wrappings of which the edges were sealed, lay within a shrine. To conceal its removal, the wrappings were cut open behind, and the body of Santa Claudia was artfully substituted for that of St. Mark; so that when, attracted by a sweet and pungent odor diffused from the displaced relics, the faithful flocked to the altar, no trace of the pious fraud was visible. In the darkness of

night and the fury of a miraculous tempest, the body, placed in a basket and covered with leaves upon which was laid a quantity of pork, was carried from the church to one of the vessels. Certain officers of the Saracens, seeing the Christians bearing away this load at this strange time, were fain to know what it was, and, opening the basket and finding the swine's flesh, turned from it in disgust and allowed the sacred burden to pass on its way. The voyage to Venice witnessed many miracles, which gave assurance of the willingness of the saint to be transferred to his destined abode. Pardon for their disobedience was readily granted to the merchants in consideration of the priceless gift which they brought, and the Doge Giustiniano Partecipazio went, accompanied by the clergy, to the vessel, and with greatest reverence bore the holy relics to the ducal chapel, where they were deposited till a more fitting resting-place could be prepared for them.*

* *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, tom. iii. April. 25, pp. 353–355. Danduli *Chronicon*, col. 172. Marin Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xxii. col. 452. The removal of the body of the saint through the streets of Alexandria in the midst of the storm, and the rescue of a Saracen seaman from drowning by the interposition of the saint on the voyage to Venice, are the subjects of two splendid pictures by Tintoretto, alike imaginative in the conception and magnificent in the rendering of the scenes. Of the last, Boschini, in his precious little volume *Le Ricche Minere della Pittura Veneziana*, says, what was true till Turner painted, "Chi ciò non vede, non sa cosa sia spavento di mare." These pictures were painted originally for the Confraternity of St. Mark, and, together with Tintoretto's more generally noted work, the so-called Miracle of the Slave, adorned the walls of the Scuola grande di San Marco. "Truly," says Boschini, "neither

The Doge at once began the construction of a new church, but he had hardly put his hand to it before his death, in the same year; and the work was left to be carried on by his brother Giovanni, who succeeded him in the dogeship.*

This first Church of St. Mark, erected about 829, stood for nearly one hundred and fifty years. One day in August, 976, a long-smothered hatred of the Doge Pietro Candiano broke out in open tumult. His palace was surrounded, the houses near it were set on fire, and the flames, reaching the palace, drove the Doge to take shelter in the church; but the fire soon seized upon this also, and the Doge, seeking safety in flight, was set upon by his enemies at the portal and barbarously murdered. The flames spread fast, and not till palace and church and more than three hun-

Tintoretto nor all the art of painting could surpass what is seen in this School." The two pictures first mentioned are now in the Palazzo Reale, the third is in the Accademia.

* In regard to this edifice, and in general in regard to the history of the church down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, no original documents exist. Frequent conflagrations, together with the ignorance and carelessness of the keepers of the ancient archives, were the cause of the loss of records which would have been of great interest, as illustrating not only the story of the church, but that of the arts, in Venice. A few brief notices in chronicles, mostly of late date, and such evidence as the existing church affords in regard to the original construction, are the only sources from which knowledge of its early character is to be gained. Such facts as are known are to be found collected in *Monumenti Artistici e Storici delle Provincie Venete descritti dalla Commissione*, etc., Milano, 1859. This valuable report was drawn up by the Marchese Pietro Selvatico and Signor Cesare Foucard. Mothes, in his *Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs* (Leipzig, 1859), gives a good summary of the history of the church.

dred houses had been destroyed did they cease their work.*

One of the first cares of the successor of Candiano, Pietro Orseolo, was the rebuilding (*recreare* is the word used by the chronicler) of palace and church. There is no account of the character or progress of the work; but about seventy years later Domenico Contarini, who was Doge from 1042 to 1051, began to remodel the church upon a new design, reconstructing the edifice, in the essential features of its plan, such as it now exists. The building begun by him was completed by his successor, Domenico Selvo, in the year 1071, and artists were employed to cover its domes and vaults with the splendid adornment of mosaics "after the Greek manner." The phrase of the chronicler is significant; for though to him it meant merely the manner of the degenerate Greeks of Constantinople, yet, in truth, their manner was an inheritance—wasted now, and scanty indeed, still a true inheritance—from those Greek artists of the ancient time who had carved the bass-reliefs of the Parthenon or designed the pattern for the embroidered *peplus* of Athena.

The church was complete, but its consecration was still delayed. Ever since the fire of 976, for now a

* Johannes Diaconus, *Chron. Venetum*, in Pertz, *Mon. Script.* tom. vii. p. 52. This Chronicle, formerly known as the *Chronicle of Sagornino*, is the work of a contemporary of these events. The author was chaplain of the Doge Pietro Orseolo II., 991–1009. He writes with intelligence, as one who saw things in the world with his own eyes, and not from cloister windows.

hundred years, the body of St. Mark had disappeared. This was occasion, says the Doge Andrea Dandolo in his Chronicle, "of lamentation to the clergy, and of great depression to the laity." It was not to be believed that the sacred treasure, the palladium of the city, destined for it by the decree of Heaven, had perished. Without it the new church must remain vacant of its chief dignity. It could not be the divine will that Venice should be deprived of her own special saint. Now that at length the church was finished and adorned worthily to contain such a treasure, it was resolved, in June, 1094, to keep a fast in the city, and to make a most solemn procession through the church, with devout supplication to the Almighty that he would be pleased to reveal the place of concealment of the sacred relics. And lo! while the procession was moving, of a sudden a light broke from one of the piers, a sound of cracking was heard, bricks fell upon the pavement, and there, within the pier, was beheld the body of the saint, with the arm stretched out, as if he had moved it to make the opening in the masonry. On one finger was a ring of gold, which, after others had tried in vain, was drawn off by Giovanni Dolfino, one of the counsellors of the Doge.

The joy of the people was now as great as their grief had been before. The miracle quickened their devotion and excited their fancy, and on the 8th of October following, "the church being dedicated to God,

the reverend body was laid away in a secret place, the Doge, the Primate, and the Procurator alone knowing where."*

The design of the new church, both in its general plan and in its details, was not copied from any existing edifice. It gave evidence, in its conception, of a quality characteristic of Venetian art at all times and in all departments—the quality of independent and original treatment of elements derived from foreign sources. This is a distinguishing trait of the artistic races of the world, and this it is which gives Venice a higher rank in the history of the arts than that which any other mediæval Italian city can claim. Florence, indeed, at times presses her hard; but even the Florentine artists were less inspired by the spirit which remodels traditional types of beauty into new forms, adapted to give expression to the special genius of a people of definite originality, than the great masters of Venetian architecture and painting. Whatever Venice touched she stamped with her own impress. She studied under Byzantine teachers, but was not content merely to copy their works. She partook of the inheritance of Roman tradition, but improved upon and modified its rules. She felt the strong influence of the Gothic spirit—no other Italian city

* This secrecy was doubtless adopted in order to secure the body against the risk of being a second time stolen. Thefts of relics were not uncommon in the Middle Ages. The wonder-working relics of a famous saint were the source of great profit to the church where they were preserved.

felt it so strongly; but, instead of yielding her own originality to the powerful compulsion of the Northern style, she accepted its principles, not as ultimate canons of a fixed system, but as vital and plastic elements for her own invention to work with; and created a fresh and beautiful Gothic style of her own.

The architect of St. Mark's is unknown, but that he was a Venetian is evident from the exhibition of this prime trait of Venetian genius in his work. Constantinople and Rome furnished him with separate elements of his design, which he fused into a composition neither Byzantine nor Romanesque, unexampled hitherto, only to be called Venetian. Adopting the Greek cross for his ground-plan, he placed over the point of intersection of its arms a central dome, forty-two feet in diameter, connected by pendentives with four great arches that sprang from four piers of vast dimensions. Over each arm of the cross rose a similar but somewhat smaller cupola; each cupola, including the central one, having a range of small windows at its base, which seemed to lighten its pressure upon its supports. Through the piers ran archways in both directions, so as to open a narrow aisle on each side of the nave and transept. The level of the eastern arm of the cross was raised above that of the body of the church to give space to a crypt beneath it, where, below the high-altar, the relics of St. Mark were laid in their secret repose. A semicircular apse terminated the eastern end of the church, stretching out beyond the

aisles, which were closed externally by a flat wall, but shaped within into small, also semicircular, apses. The material of the structure was brick, but the whole surface of the building, within and without, was to be covered with precious incrustations of mosaic or of marble.

The form of the cross, the domes, the incrusted decoration, were all borrowed from the East, and all had their prototypes in Byzantine buildings. But the crypt and the apses, and many of the details, were of Romanesque character; and the diverse elements of the two styles mingled here in harmonious combination.*

How far the adorning of the church with mosaic and marble had advanced at the time of its dedication in 1094 cannot be told; but the work was not of a nature to be speedily accomplished, and the twelfth century may have been drawing to its close before the completion of the elaborate and splendid covering of the walls. The consistent and steady carrying-out of a system of decoration so costly and so magnificent is a proof of the interest of the Venetians in the work, and of the reality of that piety which was one of the constant boasts of the republic. The church was properly the Chapel of the Doges, and, as such, under their immediate charge; but though successive Doges devoted large sums to its construction and adornment,

* Some interesting remarks on the Byzantine elements in St. Mark's are to be found in M. F. de Verneilh's remarkable work on *L'Architecture Byzantine en France*. Paris, 1851.

the chief cost was doubtless defrayed by the offerings of the citizens, to whom, year by year, it became more and more an object of pride, and who saw in it the image of the faith and the power of the State itself. It became by degrees the centre of Venetian life, the type of the glory of Venice. And thus while the mosaics of its vaults and domes display the religious conceptions of the age and the sentiment and skill of a long succession of nameless artists, in like manner the slabs of marble and alabaster that cover pier and wall, the multitudinous carvings, and the priceless columns of marble exhibit no less plainly the persistent zeal of sea-going traders and men-at-arms in contributing for the adornment of their church the gains of their commerce or the spoils of their conquests. From far and near—from the ruins of Aquileja or from the desolate palace of Spalato, from the temples of ancient cities along the coast of Italy or Asia Minor, from Athens or Constantinople, from the islands of the Ægean, from Sicily or Africa—were brought shafts and capitals, fragments of sculpture, blocks of colored stone, to be offered for the work of the church. It is a most striking indication of the prevalence of a genuine artistic spirit at Venice, not only that these objects should have been so widely sought, but that the successive master-builders should have had the genius to make such use of this medley of materials, supplied to them irregularly and without order, as to produce not a mere variegated patchwork of carved and colored ornament, but a skilful, harmoni-

ous composition, in which each detail seems to be calculated in relation to the general effect with hardly less intention and appropriateness than if all had been so designed from the beginning. Their success, however, lay in the fact that they worked upon a principle wholly diverse from those which controlled the builders of Gothic structures—a principle which subordinated the effects of pure line and constructive form to those of color. The church was designed to afford broad, unbroken masses of wall for colored surface decoration, and the elaborate multiplicities of form peculiar to Gothic architecture were altogether unattempted. There have been no such colorists in architecture as the Venetians. It was as special a gift to them as the perfect sense of form was to the Athenians. Gifts such as these, limited to single races, to defined epochs, are not to be accounted for by any enumeration of external conditions. Their sources lie concealed in undiscoverable regions. But their influence is to be traced in all the most characteristic expressions of the race, and may be perceived often in remote and varied fields of thought and of action. They appear not merely in art and manners and language, but their subtle influence penetrates into those relations of private or public conduct in which the imagination claims an interest. Of all the legacies of Athens to the world, none, perhaps, is more precious than the teaching of the intellectual value of form and proportion; of the many heirlooms that Venice has bequeathed, one of

the best is the doctrine of the refined and noble use of color.

Though the original plan of the main building seems to have been that of the simple Greek cross, yet, not long after its walls were erected, an addition to it was begun, by which the western arm was to be enclosed within an *atrium*, or vestibule, upon its northern side and western end, and on its southern side with a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist and an apartment for the sacred treasury of the church.* This addition, in the course of the twelfth century, gave to the building that magnificent façade which is the most striking and original characteristic of its exterior. Upon the adornment of this façade the resources of Venetian wealth and art were lavished. It was enriched not only with precious marbles, but with carvings and mosaics, till it was made the most splendid composition of colored architecture that Europe has beheld. No building so costly or so sumptuous had been erected since the fall of the Empire; and none more impressive, in proportion to its size, none more picturesque, has been built in later times. And yet it is this unique façade, to which the hand of time has given the last touch of

* It is possible, indeed, that the hall at the western end, with its triple portal, supporting a gallery, may have been part of the original design. It appears certain that it was constructed before the northern or southern additions. The exact dates are not to be ascertained, nor are they of much consequence, for the whole work belongs to the great period of creative activity and imaginative design throughout a large part of Europe, extending from the close of the eleventh to the beginning or middle of the thirteenth century, 1075–1225.

beauty, in the hue which only years can bestow, that, at this moment, as these pages are going through the press, is threatened with destruction, under the name of restoration. Italy plays the part in these days of the serving-maid of Aladdin, and over and over again is cheated into giving up her old magical treasure by the allurement of bright new brass. Florence, Perugia, Siena, Rome—all have suffered irreparably in loss of beauty and in historic dignity through the wanton work of that modern spirit of vulgarity which has neither reverence for the past nor regard for the future. But there has been nothing worse than this proposal to ruin "those golden walls that East and West once joined to build." The protest against this special desecration now making itself heard in Europe may be effectual to prevent it, but there is need of constant vigilance and effort to protect the most venerable monuments from the rude hand of the professional despoiler.

The church was not merely picturesque, but pictorial. The system of mosaic decoration with which arches, vaults, and domes were covered was intended not merely for ornament, but as a series of pictures for religious instruction. The Scriptures were here displayed in imperishable painting before the eyes of those who could not read the written Word. The church became thus not only a sanctuary wherein to pray, to confess, to be absolved, but also a school-house for the teaching of the faithful.* It was like "a vast illuminated missal," its

* A description of the mosaics, with their various inscriptions, is to

pages filled with sacred designs painted on gold. One of the inscriptions on its walls truly declares in rude rhyme—

"HISTORIIS, FORMA, AURO, SPECIE TABULARUM,
HOC TEMPLUM MARCI FORE DECUS OMNIUM ECCLESIARUM."

The scheme of its pictorial decoration includes the story of the race of man, his fall and redemption; the life and passion of the Saviour, and the works of his apostles and saints.

The ceiling of the *atrium*, or fore-court, of the temple was naturally, according to the order of thought of its designers, occupied with subjects from the Old Dispensation; and there appears to have been an obvious and impressive intention, as has been pointed out by Mr. Ruskin,* in the conclusion of the series with the miracle of the fall of manna. It was to direct the thoughts of the disciple to the saying "Your fathers did eat manna and are dead," and to bring to his remembrance that living bread whereof "if any man eat, he shall live forever." Entering the central door of the church, he would see before him, dim in the distance of the east-

be found in a book of great value to the student of the church, and now rare, called *La Chiesa Ducale di S. Marco* [da G. Meschinello]. Venezia, 1753, 4 vols. sm. 4to. For a plan exhibiting the order of the mosaics, see Kugler, *Handbook of Painting*. London, 1851, i. 74.

* I am glad of the opportunity which the mention of Mr. Ruskin's name affords me to refer to his *Stones of Venice*, and his recent *St. Mark's Rest*, as the books from which a better acquaintance with the qualities of Venetian art and of Venetian character may be gained than from all others besides. The dry bones of history are changed to a body with a living soul by the inspiration of his genius.

ern end, the mighty figure of the Saviour throned in glory, and uttering the words—

"SUM REX CUNCTORUM, CARO FACTUS AMORE REORUM,
NE DESPERETIS VENIÆ DUM TEMPUS HABETIS."

Then, turning and looking upward to the wall above the door by which he had entered, the worshipper would behold the same figure, with the Virgin on one side and St. Mark on the other, Christ himself holding open upon his knee the Book of Life, on the pages of which is written "I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved;" and above, on the moulding of red marble around the mosaic, were the words "I am the gate of life; enter through me ye who are mine." ("Janua sum vitæ; per me mea membra venite.")

It was thus that Venice received within the church of her patron saint the followers of the faith of which she boasted herself the bulwark.*

At the beginning of the twelfth century St. Mark's was essentially complete. But such a building was not erected by contract, with the stipulation that it should be finished at a certain date. It was not, indeed, regarded as a work that admitted of definite conclusion, but rather as one to be continually in hand, to be made more excellent from generation to generation, the constant care of the State and of the people, an object of unceasing interest and of endless increase in beauty and adornment. There was never a time when some one of the arts was not adding to its embellishment.

* "Sempre l' antemurale della Cristianità" was her own claim.

Of much that was done no record remains; but the history of the building can in part be traced from its own walls, in part from written records. During the twelfth century the Campanile was carried up above all the other towers of Venice, and from that time has been the most conspicuous signal of the city by sea or by land. It stands, after the common Italian fashion, detached from the church, with whose low domes and enriched arcades its own simple and stern vertical lines are a vigorous and picturesque contrast.* For at least two centuries (1125–1350) the structures annexed to the main body of the church, and forming a part of it as seen from without, including the baptistery, the treasury, and the fore-court, or vestibule, were slowly advancing towards completion and receiving their rich casing of marble and mosaic. All this work corresponded in general style with that of the church, and was in harmony with its general design. But meanwhile a great change was going on in the taste of the Venetians. The influences of the East were losing ground before those of the West, and the Byzantine elements in Venetian architecture were giving place to those of Gothic art. It was about the end of the fourteenth century, or perhaps in the early years of the fifteenth, that the incongruous but picturesque and fanciful crowd of pinnacles and tabernacles, of crockets, finials,

* The Campanile frequently suffered from strokes of lightning and from fire. In 1489, after its summit had been shattered by lightning, it was restored, and since then has remained essentially unaltered.

and canopies with pointed arches, which is in such striking opposition to the older and simpler forms of the building, was set up on the church. These architectural decorations enhance the impression of variety and wealth of adornment, they give a strange and complex character to the façade, but they serve no constructive purpose: they are mere external decoration; and though their effect is brilliant and surprising, it is not in keeping with the scheme of the earlier builders. Intended but to increase the richness of the front, they have, indeed, a real significance as marking a change in the moral temper of Venice, and a loss of fineness in her perceptions of fitness and of beauty. She was growing luxurious, sensual, and prodigal. A century earlier she had known how to use the forms of Gothic architecture with dignity, and with imagination all the more powerful for being held firmly in restraint. But this ornamentation of St. Mark's indicated by its wantonness the beginning of a new epoch of Venetian art, in which architecture, sculpture, and painting, after having long united their powers to express the sentiment and faith of a high-spirited community, were to become the ministers to its ostentation and the servants of the luxury and display of private citizens.

The moral history of Venice for five hundred years is indelibly recorded on the walls of the church, the decoration of which had been the chief task of her arts; the arts are incorruptible witnesses, and form and color

are undeniable indications of spiritual conditions. The testimony of mosaics and marbles concerning the character and aims of the Venetians corresponds with and is confirmed by the less instinctive evidence of the inscriptions set in the walls or engraved on the monuments of the dead buried within the church.

St. Mark's, the chapel of the doges, was used, not for strictly religious services and ceremonies alone, but served as the gathering-place of the people when great affairs were to be determined, and the Doge saw fit to summon the citizens to hear and to decide by their vote what course should be followed. There was no other place so fitting for public transactions of importance, for which the blessing and guidance of Heaven were to be sought by the powerful intercession of the saint. Here, too, each Doge, upon his election by the council, was presented before an assemblage of the people, called together by the ringing of the bells, that the choice might be confirmed by the voices of the common citizens. "We have chosen this man Doge, if so it please you,"* were the words with which their consent was asked, and it was seldom that the people had reason not to be pleased with the choice. Then, before all the people, the new Doge, kneeling at the high-altar,

* This form lasted till the election of Francesco Foscari, in 1423, when it was disused, all semblance of a popular element in the State having by this time disappeared. "Suppose the people were to say *No;* what would it matter?" asked the Grand Chancellor. "Let us therefore only say, We have chosen this man Doge." See Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, 966, E.

was invested by the Primate with the ducal mantle, and received from his hands the red banner of St. Mark, the triumphant standard of the republic. Near the door by which the Doge entered the church from his palace, above the altar of St. Clement, was an inscription in letters of gold, addressed to the Doge himself; it was the monition of Venice to him:

"DILIGE IUSTITIAM, SUA CUNCTIS REDDITO IURA: PAUPER CUM VIDUA, PUPILLUS ET ORPHANUS, O DUX, TE SIBI PATRONUM SPERANT. PIUS OMNIBUS ESTO: NON TIMOR AUT ODIUM VEL AMOR NEC TE TRAHAT AURUM.

"UT FLOS CASURUS, DUX, ES, CINERESQUE FUTURUS,
ET VELUT ACTURUS, POST MORTEM SIC HABITURUS."

"Love justice, render their rights unto all: let the poor man and the widow, the ward and the orphan, O Doge, hope for a guardian in thee. Be pious towards all. Let not fear, nor hate, nor love, nor gold betray thee. As a flower shalt thou fall, Doge; dust shalt thou become; and as shall have been thy deeds, so, after death, shall thy guerdon be."

The close connection of palace and church was the type of the connection between the politics and the religion of the State. There was no divorce between them in theory. The men who founded, built up, and administered the republic were, with few exceptions, men not merely pious, but in a noble sense religious. During the centuries of the splendor and power of Venice, a standard of honesty, uprightness, and steady justice in the conduct of public affairs was maintained by her superior to that of any other mediæval State. The

qualities which distinguished the private dealings of her citizens were displayed in her public administration. Her merchants were men of honor, who valued their word. They knew that their prosperity and that of their city depended on the confidence inspired by their integrity. The habit of honest dealing became a ruling principle in Venetian character. There were cheats and thieves and traitors at Venice as well as elsewhere, but there was no laxity towards fraud, and the Venetian ideal of character was one in which honesty and justice were the first elements. The Doge Vitale Faliero, in whose time St. Mark's was consecrated, died in 1096, and was buried in the portico of the church. Upon his tomb, enriched with mosaics of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the archangels of the Last Judgment, is an inscription of which the first lines render the old Venetian ideal:

"MORIBUS INSIGNIS, TITULIS CELEBERRIME DIGNIS,
CULTOR HONESTATIS, DUX OMNIMODÆ PROBITATIS."*

The evidence of epitaphs, however doubtful as regards the character of special individuals, is trustwor-

* Close by the tomb of this Doge is that of the young wife of his successor, Vitale Michele. She died in the first year of the 12th century, and the inscription which commemorates her virtues gives us a conception of the Venetian ideal of the womanly character at that early time. This record of one of the long train of fair Venetian women, deficient as it is in literary art, but with the grace of simplicity, adds an association of tenderness to the historic memories of St. Mark's:

"Cultrix vera Dei, cultrix et pauperiei;
Sic subnixa Deo quo frueretur eo;
Comis in affatu, nullis onerosa ducatu;
Vultu mitis erat, quod foris intus erat.
Calcavit luxum, suffugit quemque tumultum
Ad strepitum nullum cor tulit ipsa suum."

thy in respect to the qualities honored by the public. Through all the period of the best life of Venice, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, the virtues of probity and justice are constantly cited as chief titles to honor of the dead.

"Justus, purus, castus, mitis, cuique placebat" is the praise of the Doge Sebastiano Ziani, who died in 1178. It was while this just, pure, chaste, and mild man was Doge that St. Mark's was the scene of one of the most striking incidents in Venetian annals. So deeply impressed was the popular imagination by the nature of the transaction and the personages that took part in it, that a fanciful legend concerning it sprang up and so flourished, with the aid of the Church and of the arts, as for centuries to obscure the real facts of history. During the twenty years' strife between Frederic Barbarossa and the Pope Alexander III.—a strife which distracted the whole Christian world—Venice, though cajoled and threatened by either power in turn, had maintained an independent neutrality. At length, after long and difficult negotiations, the Doge, a man trusted and skilled in affairs, succeeded in prevailing upon the Pope and the Emperor to meet in Venice, where terms of accord were settled upon between them. It was agreed that, in token of reconciliation, there should be a solemn service in which Pope and Emperor should take part. The Pope, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators, received the Emperor in the vestibule of the church, before the main door of entrance, and the

place of this meeting was marked by three slabs of red marble inserted in the pavement.

Great as was the splendor of the scene, and great as its importance may have appeared to the chief actors in it and to the crowd of spectators, they did not appreciate its full meaning. It was, in truth, the sign of the victory of the ecclesiastical over the secular power —a victory of which the consequences are manifest even in contemporary history. The event deserved commemoration, and the popular legend, though largely a pure invention, expressed more vividly than the true record the real significance of the facts.

According to this legend, the Pope, poor and deserted, flying in disguise to escape the persecutions of Frederic, took refuge secretly in Venice, and, being received into a monastery, ministered to the brethren for some days as their cook. At length a Venetian, who had been on a pilgrimage to Rome and had seen the Pope there, recognized him under his disguise, and informed the Doge of his presence in the city. The Doge, accompanied by the clergy and the people, at once went to the monastery, and thence conducted the Pope, with all honor, to the palace of the Patriarch. Then the Doge sent messengers to the Emperor to arrange terms of peace, but he angrily refused, bidding them tell the Doge that he demanded the surrender of the Pope, "and if this be refused," he added, "I will come to take him by force, and will set my eagles on the very church of St. Mark."

The Doge did not tremble when he heard these words. It was resolved to send out a fleet at once to meet the fleet of the Emperor. That of the Venetians consisted of but thirty galleys, while that of the Emperor numbered seventy-five. On the 26th of May, 1177, the Feast of the Ascension, the Venetians won a signal victory, with their thirty galleys capturing forty of the enemy's vessels, and taking prisoner Otho, the son of Frederic and the captain of his fleet. Defeat only embittered the stubborn heart of the Emperor. After a while Otho persuaded his captors to let him out from prison on parole, that he might try to turn his father's mind to peace. Great was the joy of his father at seeing him. Then Otho told him that the rout of his armada had been due to no natural cause, but was a manifest judgment of God, and the sign of his displeasure with the Emperor because of his persecution of the Pope; and he besought his father to make peace before the arm of the Lord should fall more heavily upon him. At last the stiff-necked Barbarossa yielded to the arguments and persuasions of his son; and the two set out for Venice, accompanied by a great train of followers. The Doge and the people went out to meet the Emperor, while the Pope, in his pontifical robes, remained standing on a pulpit that had been erected before the entrance of St. Mark's. As the Emperor drew near, the Pope left the pulpit, and, entering the vestibule of the church, awaited his approach. The Emperor came, and, overcome with awe at the sight of the

vicegerent of the Lord whom he had so deeply offended and who had visited him with such heavy chastisement, prostrated himself upon the pavement, kissed the foot of the Pope, and prayed for pardon. Then the Pope said, setting his foot upon the head of the Emperor, "Super aspidem et basiliscam ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem," or, as translated, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet" (Psalm xci. 13). The Emperor, not yet humiliated so far as to endure patiently such indignity, replied, "Non tibi, sed Petro" (Not to thee, but to Peter, do I humble myself); and the Pope answered, "Et mihi et Petro" (Both to me and to Peter). Then the Pope raised him from the ground, and they entered the church with the Doge, all the clergy singing "Te Deum laudamus."*

* See Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, col. 511. This famous legend for centuries was very widely adopted, not merely by unscrupulous partisans of papal pretensions, but by many veracious historians. Even Daru, in his *Histoire de Venise*, tom. i. pp. 230 seq., maintains it in spite of the fact that Muratori, and before him Sigonius and Baronius, had exposed it as a tissue of fables. A thorough examination of the subject by the Nobile Angelo Zon is to be found in Cicogna, *Inscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. iv. pp. 574–593. The early credit given to the legend appears from the fact that in 1319 it was ordered that the walls of the Church of San Niccolò of the Palace, then "tota nuda picturis," should be painted with pictures representing "hystoriam Papę quando fuit veneciis cum domino Imperatore." See Lorenzi's invaluable *Monumenti per servire alla Storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia*. Parte I. Venezia, 1868, 4to, p. 12. A century later, in 1425, one wall of the Hall of the Great Council in the Ducal Palace was covered with paintings of the same story. Id. p. 63. Nor was the popularity of the legend confined to Venice. A series of pictures on the walls of one of the apartments of the Palazzo della Repubblica at Siena, painted by Spinello d' Arezzo in 1407–8, represents the scenes of the story. Siena was proud of being the birthplace of Alexander III.

Such was the legend which was cherished by the Venetians and adopted by the Church. It represents, better than the true history, the popular feeling of the time; and it is itself a piece of the history of St. Mark's, as having exalted the pride of the Venetians in the church that had been the stage on which a scene of such import had been transacted. As time went on, they connected these fabulous events with some of the chief dignities and chief festivals of the republic. Of all her festivals there was none more fanciful or more splendid, none which more clearly reflected her poetic temperament, than that of the annual espousals of the sea by the Doge on the Day of Ascension. The actual date of the origin of this ceremony cannot be certainly fixed, but it seems likely that the custom began not far from the year 1000. The later Venetians were, however, apt to regard it as being in part, at least, a commemoration of the marvellous and fabulous victory gained on Ascension Day over the imperial fleet; and it was believed that Pope Alexander had given to the Doge the first ring which was cast into the sea, as the bridal ring, the sign that, as the wife to her husband, so the sea should be subject to the republic.*

* "Uti uxorem viro, ita mare imperio reipublicæ Venetæ subjectum,"—these were the words of the Pope; or, according to another version, "Te, fili, Dux, tuosque successores aureo annulo singulis annis in die Ascensionis mare desponsare volumus, sicut vir subjectam sibi desponsat uxorem, quum vere ipsius custos censearis, quare ab infestantibus nostrum mare quietasti totaliter." Sanudo, *Vite de' Duchi*, col. 510.

Sebastiano Ziani, who thus accomplished peace between the two swords, died an old man, in 1178. Fourteen years later, a still older man, and one still more famous, was chosen Doge, Enrico Dandolo. The repute of the Venetians for wealth, for arms, for arts, was high throughout Christendom. Their energies were fresh and their spirit unexhausted. It was during the dogeship of Dandolo that St. Mark's was the scene of incidents of hardly less interest than those attending the pacification of Pope and Emperor, and of which, fortunately, a vivid and trustworthy account by one of the chief actors in them has come down to us.

Dandolo had been Doge for six years when, in 1198, Innocent III. was chosen Pope. He was but thirty-seven years old, a man of resolute will, of ardent temperament, and with a political genius that made him not only the foremost statesman of his time, but gives him claim to rank with the ablest in the long line of the successors of St. Peter. He had hardly become Pope before he devoted himself, with all the energy of his vigorous character, to inciting the rulers and the people of Europe to a new crusade. He recognized the effect of the crusades in increasing the authority and extending the jurisdiction of the papacy. There was no lack of motive to excite zeal in a new expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land. The true cross had been lost; Jerusalem was in the hands of the infidel; with the loss of Jaffa, in 1197, scarcely a stronghold remained for the Christians in Palestine,

and the Latin kingdom was little more than a name. But Saladin, the great leader of the Mohammedans, was dead, and his power had fallen into weaker hands. Let but a determined effort be made, and there was yet a chance to free Christendom from the ignominy of leaving the holy city of its Lord in subjection to the Saracen.

Innocent despatched his briefs and sent his messengers throughout Europe to rouse the hearts of men, and to press upon them the new enterprise. He proclaimed an indulgence, by the terms of which all those who should enlist in the crusade and do the service of God for one year under arms should be relieved from all penalty for the sins of which they should devoutly make confession. Nowhere was the cause more ardently preached or the cross more readily taken than in the lands of France. The fervid eloquence of Foulques, priest of Neuilly, near Paris, stirred the blood of young and old, of high and low. Among those who pledged themselves to go across sea to fight in the cause of the Lord were Thibaut, the young Count of Champagne and of Brie; Louis, Count of Blois and of Chartres, both cousins of the King; Simon de Montfort, who had already served well in the Holy Land, and who was, years afterwards, to acquire terrible repute in the miscalled crusade against the Albigenses; and, following the example of these leaders, many more of the chief barons of France. In the spring of 1201 the preparations had so far advanced that six envoys

were sent to Italy to make arrangements for the embarkation of the crusaders from some Italian port. Furnished with full powers, they proceeded to Venice, knowing that there they would find a larger supply of vessels and of needful stores than at any other port. Geoffroi de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, was the head of the commission; and in his chronicle of the conquest of Constantinople he reported their proceedings and the later doings of the crusaders with a spirit, simplicity, and picturesqueness that make his narrative one of the most interesting and delightful pieces of early French literature, as well as the most important historical record of the events which he describes. His book affords such an image of the character and temper of the times as is not elsewhere to be found.

On the arrival of the envoys at Venice, at the season of Lent, in February, 1201, the Doge, "a man very wise and of great worth," welcomed them cordially, and with much honor. Having presented to him their letters of credence, it was agreed that four days afterwards they should lay their propositions before the council. At the appointed time "they entered the palace, which was very rich and beautiful, and found the Doge and his council in a chamber, and delivered their message after this manner: 'Sire, we are come to you on the part of the high barons of France, who have taken the sign of the cross in order to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ and to reconquer Jerusalem,

if God permit. And, because they know that no people have so great power to aid them as you and your folk, they pray you, for God's sake, to have pity on the Land beyond the Sea and on the shame of Jesus Christ, and to take pains that they may have ships of transport and of war.' 'In what manner?' said the Doge. 'In every manner,' said the envoys, 'that you can propose or advise, so only they can do and bear their part.' 'Certes,' said the Doge, 'tis a great thing they have asked of us, and it seems truly that they are devising a high affair; we will reply to you eight days hence. And marvel not if the delay be long, for so great a matter needs much reflection.'

"At the time fixed by the Doge they went back to the palace. All the words that were uttered there I cannot report them to you, but the end of the conference was this: 'Gentlemen,' said the Doge, 'we will tell you the decision we have taken, if we can bring our great council and the commonalty of our land to confirm it, and you shall consult together to see if you can do and bear your part. We will provide fit vessels to transport four thousand five hundred horses and nine thousand squires, and ships for four thousand five hundred knights and twenty thousand foot-soldiers. And we will agree to provision them for nine months. This is what we will do at the least, on condition that four marks shall be paid for every horse and two marks for every man. And we will make this agreement to hold for one year, counting from the day we shall

leave the port of Venice to do service for God and for Christendom in whatsoever place it may be. The sum of this expense before named amounts to eighty-five thousand marks. And thus much more we will do: we will add fifty galleys armed for the love of God, on condition that so long as our joint company shall last, of all the conquests we shall make of land or of goods, on sea or on land, we shall have one half and you the other. Now, then, consult and see if you can do and bear your part.'

"The envoys went out, saying that they would talk together, and reply on the next day. They consulted and talked together that night, and agreed to do it, and the next day went to the Doge, and said, 'Sire, we are ready to conclude this convention.' And the Doge said he would speak to his people about it, and would let them know what he found out.

"The morning of the third day, the Doge, who was very wise and worthy, summoned his great council, and this council was of forty men, the wisest of the land. And he, by his sense and wit, which was very clear and good, brought them to approve and will it. Thus he brought them to it, and then a hundred, then two hundred, then a thousand, till all agreed and approved. Then he assembled at once full ten thousand in the chapel of St. Mark—the most beautiful in the world—and he said to them that they should hear a mass of the Holy Spirit, and should pray God to counsel them as to the request that the envoys had made to them. And they did so very willingly.

"When the mass was said, the Doge sent word to the envoys that they should humbly beg the people to consent that the convention should be concluded. The envoys came to the church. They were much looked at by many people who had never seen them. By the consent and wish of the other envoys, Geoffroi de Villehardouin took the word and said to them, 'Gentlemen, the highest and most puissant barons of France have sent us to you, and they cry you mercy, that you take pity on Jerusalem, which is in bondage to the Turks, and that for God's sake you would aid them to avenge the shame of Jesus Christ. And they have chosen you because they know that no people who are on the sea have so great power as you and your people. And they bade us fall at your feet, and not to rise till you should consent to take pity on the Holy Land beyond the Sea.'"

The memories of the church were eloquent in seconding the appeal of the envoy. More than a hundred years before, the people had been summoned to St. Mark's to deliberate as to the part that Venice should take in the first crusade, and had resolved to join in the holy enterprise. The favor of Heaven had attended them, and they had brought back with them, as a sign of its grace, the most precious bodies of St. Theodore, chief patron of Venice next after St. Mark, and of St. Nicholas, another of her special heavenly advocates. Again, in 1123, they had met in St. Mark's once more, to resolve, in the presence of

the Lord, to take share in a new crusade; and again the fame of Venice had been increased by the deeds of her crusaders; her dominion had been extended, her power in the East augmented, and she herself had been enriched with new store of relics, and with those stately columns that now stood at the edge of the sea, near to her palace and her church, monuments of the ancient glory of Tyre, transferred to the still more glorious mediæval city.

The voice of such memories and monuments as these was clear. There could be but one answer to the new call to help to rescue the sacred walls of Jerusalem. When Villehardouin had finished his address, "the six envoys knelt down weeping, and the Doge and all the rest burst into tears of pity, and cried out all with one voice, and stretched their hands on high and said, 'We consent! We consent!' Then there was such a great noise and uproar that it seemed as if the earth trembled. And when this great uproar was quieted, and this great emotion (and greater no man ever saw), the good Doge of Venice, who was very wise and worthy, mounted to the pulpit and spoke to the people, and said to them, 'Gentlemen, behold what honor God has done you! for the best people in the world have turned from all other people and have sought your company in so high an emprise as the deliverance of our Lord.'

"Of the fair and good words that the Doge spoke I cannot report to you all; but the end of the thing was

that they took till the morrow to draw up the papers. . . . And when the papers were drawn up and sealed, they were brought to the Doge in the great palace, where were the great council and the little. And when the Doge delivered his papers to them, he knelt down, and with many tears he swore upon the saints to keep in good faith the agreements that were in the papers; and all his council, which was of forty-six persons, did the like. And the envoys, on their part, swore to hold to their papers, and that the oaths of their lords and their own oaths should be kept in good faith. And know that many a tear of pity was shed there. Then the envoys borrowed five thousand marks of silver, and gave them to the Doge to begin the fleet; and then they took leave to return to their own country."

The news that the envoys carried to France of the good-will and the promises of the Venetians was received with joy. But "adventures happen as it pleases God," says Villehardouin, and many things occurred to disarrange the plans of the leaders of the crusade. At length, after Easter, in May and June, 1202, the pilgrims began to depart from their country. Many of them journeyed to Venice, but not all who had promised to do so proceeded thither; so that when all who had gone there met together they were greatly troubled, finding themselves too few to keep their bargain and to pay the promised money to the Venetians. Such as had come were received with joy and

honor by the Venetians. They were all lodged on the island of St. Nicholas, near the city, and the army, though small, was "very beautiful, and composed of good folk." The Venetians provided them well with all needful supplies, and the fleet which they had got ready was the finest any Christian man had ever seen, and sufficient for three times as many people as there were in the army. "The Venetians," says Villehardouin, "had fulfilled completely their agreement, and even done much more; and now they summoned the counts and barons to perform their part, and they demanded the money due them, for they were ready to set sail." But when the price of passage had been paid for all who had come to Venice, the sum fell short by more than half. Discord arose among the crusaders, some, half-hearted, wishing to give up the expedition and return home, while others, more in earnest, resolved to contribute, over and above their share, all that they could spare or borrow, preferring to go poor rather than to fail in their vow. "And then you might have seen quantities of fine plate of gold and silver carried to the palace of the Doge to make payment. And when all was paid, the sum still fell short by thirty-four thousand silver marks; and those who had kept back their property were very joyous, and would set nothing thereto, for they thought then that surely the army would fail and go to pieces. But God, who consoles the disconsolate, would not suffer it thus."

Then the Doge spoke to his people to this effect: "This folk can pay no more, but let us not therefore break our word; let us agree that the payment of the thirty-four thousand marks which they owe us be postponed till God let us, we and they, gain this sum together, on condition that they help us to recover the strong city of Zara, in Slavonia, which the King of Hungary has taken from us." And so, finally, it was arranged.

"Then they assembled one Sunday in the Church of St. Mark. It was a very great feast, and the people of the land were there, and most of the barons and pilgrims. Before the high mass began, the Doge of Venice, who was named Enrico Dandolo, mounted the pulpit and spoke to the people, and said, 'Gentlemen, you are associated with the best people in the world, for the highest affair that has ever been undertaken; and I am an old man and feeble, and have need of repose, for I am ill of body; but I see that no one could so govern and lead you as I who am your lord (*sire*). If you will consent that I should take the sign of the cross in order to guard and direct you, and my son stay in my place and guard the land, I will go to live or die with you and the pilgrims.' And when they heard him, they all cried with one voice, 'We pray thee, for love of God, that you do this, and that you come with us.' Very great was then the emotion of the people of the land and of the pilgrims, and many tears were shed, because this worthy man might

have had such great reason for staying at home; for he was an old man, and though his eyes were fair to look on, yet he saw not at all, for he had lost his sight through a wound on the head.* But he had a very large heart. He came down from the pulpit and went before the altar and knelt down, weeping much; and they sewed the cross on the front of his tall cap of cotton, because he wished that the people should see it. And the Venetians began to take the cross in great numbers. Our pilgrims felt great joy, and their hearts were moved on account of that cross which he had taken, because of his wisdom and his prowess. Thus the Doge took the cross, as you have heard. Then they began to deliver the ships and the galleys and the vessels to the barons for setting sail, and so much time had passed that September [1202] was drawing near."

The resolution of the Doge, now ninety-four years old, is an illustration of the spirit that made the crusades possible, and not less of that which inspired the great works of church-building of this period.

The crusade achieved little for the honor of the

* Dandolo had been blinded when Venetian envoy at Constantinople, in 1171, by Manuel Comnenus, Emperor of the East. His blindness does not seem to have been complete. His descendant, the Doge Andrea Dandolo, says simply in his chronicle, "Emanuel itaque erga Venetos furore accensus, se eos ad nihilum redacturum adjurans, in legatos, dum ea quæ pacis erant requirerent, injuriose prorupit. Cui Henricus Dandolo pro salute patriæ constanter resistens, visu aliqualiter obtenebratus est. Qui illatam injuriam sub dissimulatione secretam tenens, una cum socio Venetias redeunt." Lib. x. cap. i. § 4. The "pro salute patriæ" is a touch of the true Venetian spirit.

cross. The arms of the crusaders were turned against Christians and not Saracens. Constantinople was besieged and taken by the allied forces of the French and Venetians. From the pillage of the imperial city Venice gained many precious objects. Her piety was gratified by receiving from the Doge as part of the booty a piece of the true cross, one of the arms of St. George, a part of the skull of St. John the Baptist, the body of St. Lucia—*Lucia nemica di ciascun crudele* —the body of St. Simeon, and a phial of the blood of Jesus Christ. The crusaders were not of a temper to respect the priceless works of ancient art with which the city was adorned: the statues of marble were shattered, those of bronze melted down; but Dandolo interposed to save the four horses of gilded bronze that Constantine had carried from Rome to decorate his hippodrome, and in 1205 they were sent to Venice, and shortly after set up on the front of St. Mark's—a strange but striking ornament of its fanciful façade, and a permanent memorial of the share of Venice in the crusade.*

* Coryat, whose lively description of Venice, in his *Crudities* (1611), gives a picture of the splendid city in the days of its magnificence, says: "Two of these horses are set on one side of that beautiful alabaster border, full of imagery and other singular devices, which is advanced over the middle great brasse gate at the comming into the Church, and the other two on the other side. Which yeeldeth a maruailous grace to this frontispice of the Church, and so greatly they are estemed by the Venetians, that although they have beene offered for them their weight in gold by the King of Spaine, as I heard reported in Venice, yet they will not sell them."

After the overthrow of the republic they were carried, in 1797, to

The story of St. Mark's is an epitome of the story of Venice. So long as Venice lived, St. Mark's was the symbol and expression of her life. Among the noble works of men, few more beautiful, few more venerable, adorn the face of the world. It is the chief monument of one of the communities which in its time did most to elevate and refine mankind. For a long period the Venetians served as the advance-guard of modern civilization, and their history can never cease to be of interest to the student of political institutions and of the highest forms of human society. From the top of the tower of St. Mark's, says an old traveller, "you have the fairest and goodliest prospect that is (I thinke) in all the worlde. For therehence may you see the whole model and forme of the citie, *sub uno intuitu*, a sight that doth, in my opinion, farre surpasse all the shewes under the cope of heaven. There you may have a synopsis—that is, a general viewe—of little Christendome (for so doe many intitle this citie of Venice), or rather of the Jerusalem of Christendome," and among all the sights of this glorious city the best is "the beautiful Church of St. Marke, which though it be but little, yet it is exceeding rich, and truly so many are its ornaments that a perfect description of them will require a little volume."

Paris, but were restored (as an inscription, curiously out of place on the front of the church, records) by the Emperor of Austria, Francis I., in 1815.

## III

# SIENA AND OUR LADY OF THE ASSUMPTION

## III.

### *SIENA, AND OUR LADY OF THE ASSUMPTION.*

#### I. THE BEGINNING OF THE DUOMO, AND THE BATTLE OF MONTAPERTI.

The annals of Siena during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, like those of most other Italian cities, are little more than a record of frequent changes in the order of government, of popular tumults, of the exile of powerful citizens and their armed return to take vengeance on and expel their domestic foes, of bloody feuds between allied families, and of repeated violence and treachery, consequent on bitter party divisions. The hate of Guelf and Ghibelline, quickened by the passions of intestine factions, was never appeased. The turbulent mass of the common people was always ready for a call to arms. Each great family had their band of retainers, trained for service however desperate, and their palaces were built as strongholds, not for themselves alone, but to afford shelter and protection to their numerous followers.

In spite, however, of division and discord, in spite of broils at home and wars abroad, the city grew and prospered, and the strength of the community increased. Siena became by degrees conscious of her

abilities and her resources. The pride of her citizens, rising with their growing numbers and gathered wealth, inspired them with zeal to adorn the city, that she might be no less beautiful than strong, and might display to her emulous neighbors her superiority in arts as well as in arms. The *gente vana*, as Dante calls them, were not of a temper to let themselves be outdone by their rivals without an effort, or to count narrowly the cost of works that would do honor to their town or add to its magnificence. The community, notwithstanding its divisions, was not too broken nor too large to share in a common emotion, or to be inspired by a single will, at least in the prosecution of such designs as rose above the level of personal ambitions and partisan interests.

The latter part of the twelfth century, here as elsewhere in Tuscany, was especially fruitful in undertakings of this sort. For a longer breathing-spell than usual, the city was free from war and exempt from tumult, so that its people could give their thoughts and means to works of common concern for its service or adornment. Thus in 1177 the Sienese began to dig through one of the hills enclosed within their walls in search of a hidden and mysterious spring known to the popular fancy as the Diana. They long labored in vain, and Dante scoffs (*Purgatory*, xiii. 151–3) at their lost hopes. But the secret source was at last reached, and Diana's Well, in the garden behind the Church and Convent of the Carmine, to-day gives

water to the troops quartered in cells once occupied by monks. The chief water supply of Siena was, however, and is still, derived from sources outside the walls, conducted through pipes into the city; and in 1193, in order to meet the growing needs of the town, new streams were led through underground channels to the famous Fonte Branda, while probably about the same time the spacious reservoir and noble triple arcade of this most picturesque of fountains were constructed at public cost. In the next year, 1194, the Campo di Siena, the public square, which from that time has been the centre of the life of the town, was laid out in its actual form. Here the heart of the city has beat high in rejoicing and festival, and here its hottest blood has stained every stone of the broad pavement. The republic has here celebrated its victories and mourned its defeats; and here the old palaces still sullenly gaze on the cheap activities of the daily market, and on the shadowy forms of existence that have taken the place of the real life and eager emotions of the past. Few cities in Italy can boast of a nobler public square, or one more crowded with historic association, than this shell-shaped Piazza della Signoria.

But of all the works undertaken by the community, the chief was the building of a cathedral. From a very early time a church dedicated to the Virgin had existed on the site now occupied by the Duomo; and here, in still more ancient days, had stood, it is said, a temple dedicated to Minerva; for it had been ordained

of God, says one of the Sienese authors most in repute, "that the city which, under the light of the Gospel, was to be consecrated to the Virgin Mary, should cherish, even in the darkness of paganism, the worship of the goddesses most renowned for chastity—Minerva and Diana." *

The position was well chosen for the site of the principal sacred edifice of the city. Siena encloses within its walls a curiously broken surface of hill and valley. The sharp contrasts of level give to the town a striking picturesqueness of aspect. On the top of one of the heights, a hundred and fifty feet above the ravine-like valley beneath it, rises the cathedral, seeming alike to crown and to keep watch over the city. Its rectangular Campanile lifts itself high above the city walls, matched only by the lighter and more aspiring tower of the Palace of the Republic standing on the Campo below. Round the feet of these towers, symbols of the religious devotion and civic independence of the restless but vigorous little republic, the turbulent life of Siena whirled and eddied; and now that her life has run low, her power gone, her glory become a mere memory, these towers stand as the monuments of her former proud self, and of a noble spirit and eager energies long since extinct.

But when the cathedral was building there was blood enough in the veins of the Sienese, and their pulses were quickened by the work. Its magnificence

* Gigli, *Diario Sanese*, Lucca, 1723, parte ii. p. 426.

was not only the proof of their devotion, but the sign of their strength, and of the abundance of their resources. It was to be as well the envy of neighboring cities as the delight of their own. It was a civic, much more than an ecclesiastical, work; and the votes of a majority in the popular assembly determined not only how it should be carried on, but elected the architect and the overseers who were to be engaged on the building. Bishop and clergy exercised no authority over it. The lay democracy were the rulers in all that concerned it.

Of the existing Duomo probably no visible portion belongs to an earlier date than the second quarter of the thirteenth century. But the Duomo, as it now stands, grew out of an earlier building by successive modifications and additions. In the preceding century the Sienese had been at work on the church, and the Campanile, one of the finest in Italy, is said to have been begun in 1146, built up upon the solid foundations of one of those towers for defence which formed an essential part of the city habitation, half fortress, half palace, of every great family.* There is a tradi-

* The number of such towers in Siena, as in other Italian cities, at this time, was very great, and gave characteristic picturesqueness to its aspect:

"Turribus et celsis consurgunt mœnia pinnis
Exornantque suam tectis sublimibus urbem."

A description of the towers of Pavia, written about the year 1300, would serve for Siena as well: "Quasi omnes ecclesiæ habent turres excelsas propter campanas, etc. Ceterarum autem turrium super laicorum domibus excelsarum mirabiliter maximus est numerus, ex qui-

tion that the Pope Alexander III., a Sienese by birth, the Pope who, according to the legend, put his foot on the neck of Frederic Barbarossa prostrate before him in the vestibule of St. Mark's—there is a tradition that Alexander, during a stay in Siena in 1179, consecrated the then existing church. It seems likely, however, the building was not then complete, for there exist numerous records of work done on the Duomo in the early part of the thirteenth century, though little is known of its exact nature.

With the growth of the city and the increasing prosperity of the citizens, the need was felt of a larger and finer church. The splendid Cathedral of Pisa, not far off, was a goad to the pride and the vanity of the Sienese. The old forms of building, in which the ancient tradition of Roman art had maintained supremacy, no longer satisfied the newly aroused creative intelligence of the mediæval communities. Italy took hints of Gothic construction and form from the builders of Northern cathedrals and castles, but she never adopted the style as her own. Her builders were stimulated to their utmost endeavors by the wonders

bus multæ tam ex vetustate, quam studio civium se invicem persequentium ceciderunt." The author of the little Chronicle of Ferrara, writing near the end of the thirteenth century, and telling of the discords of the citizens, introduces a charming touch of nature in his description of the party strifes: "Audivi a majoribus natu, quod in quadraginta annorum curriculo altera pars alteram decies a civitate extruserat. Accepi puer a genitore meo, hiberno tempore confabulante in lare, quod ejus tempore viderat in civitate Ferrariæ turres altas triginta duas, quas mox vidit prosterni et dirui." Cited by Muratori, *Antich. Ital.*, tomo i. parte 2, p. 205.

of the development of the pointed arch; but they held true, for the most part, to their inherited principles of construction and of ornament. The Gothic structures in Italy stand on Roman foundations. But at this moment Tuscany was inspired with zeal to build after the Gothic manner. Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Prato, Pistoia, and many a less noted town, were rebuilding, or proposing to rebuild, their old churches according to the new style; and so it was in Siena. The edifice dates itself. Its character indicates that it belongs, in general scheme at least, to the thirteenth century, but it indicates also that it was not, like the Duomo of Orvieto, erected according to a plan carefully laid out in advance, and closely adhered to in the progress of the work; but that it rather grew up in the course of a hundred years, part by part, with many variations of design, its successive architects seeking only to preserve a general harmony of effect, with little consideration of exact conformity of parts or of precise regularity of execution.

Malavolti, the trustworthy historian of Siena, states that the new church was begun in 1245, and, in the absence of contemporary records, this date may be assumed as that of the earliest visible part of the existing cathedral.*

* Malavolti's words are: "Nel medesimo anno [1245] i Sanesi volendo accrescer la lor chiesa catedrale, la quale non essendo molto grande, non era capace ne' giorni più solenni a ricever 'l popolo di quella città, poi ch' ella s' era così ripiena d' habitatori, ch' in quel tempo faceva undicimila ottocento famiglie." *Historia*, Venetia, 1599, parte i. p. 62 b.

Although records concerning the origin and first progress of the design are wanting, yet contemporary documents remain which show the methods adopted by the commune in the carrying-on of the building, and illustrate the relation of the people, and of the authorities elected by them, to what was called distinctively *L' Opera*, or "The Work."

In the Archives of State at Siena there is a manuscript volume of the statutes of the commune, compiled about 1260. Among other matter of great interest, it contains various ordinances regulating the duties of the magistracy in respect to the Duomo. They are not all of one date, but all are to be regarded as in force at the time of the compiling of the statute.* Their form is that of an oath of the Podestà, or chief magistrate of the city. He was elected annually, and upon taking office he was obliged to swear to maintain the statutes of the commune. The first article concerns the Duomo, the Podestà swearing that, within a month from the beginning of his rule, he will cause the master of the works to take oath to pay over whatever moneys for the work may come to his hands to three *legales homines de pœnitentia*, chosen by the Bishop, the Consuls of the Trades, and the twenty-four

* This volume bears the title of *Statuto Senese, No.* 2. The Sienese archives are exceedingly rich in documents relating to the early municipal history of the city, full of important and curious material illustrating the social and political conditions of Tuscany during the Middle Ages. They are admirably arranged and cared for. The history of mediæval Italy must be studied and rewritten in the archives of its cities. See App. I. "Documents relating to the Duomo." No. I.

Priors of the City, and that he will oblige these three men to take upon themselves the debts of the work, and to render accounts every three months to the Council of the Bell and of the People.*

In the next clause the Podestà swears to summon the Council of the Bell during the month of January, to provide for the appointment of men who shall audit the accounts and determine how the building shall be proceeded with, and whether there shall be one master of the works or more.

Subsequent clauses provide the mode of expending any balance of money that may remain in the hands of the master of the works, and ordain that all persons who may receive contributions for the building shall take oath to pay them over without diminution to the proper authorities. They further provide that marble quarried for the building shall be brought into the city at public cost; that ten master-workmen shall be employed every year on the building at the expense of

* The *Consilium Campanæ et Populi* was the chief legislative assembly of the city. It was composed of three hundred citizens, one hundred being chosen by popular vote from each *terzo*, or third of the city, to whom, in certain cases, fifty more were added. It met at irregular intervals, generally as often as once or twice a week, and derived its name from the bell by whose sound it was convoked. Its meetings were usually held in the Church of St. Christopher, which still stands on the Piazza de' Tolomei, facing the palace of the family after whom the square is named, one of the finest early Gothic palaces in Italy. The old walls of the church remain, but the façade and the interior have been modernized and spoiled. The records of the *Consiglio della Campana* exist in the archives, almost unbroken, from the year 1252, and are among the most important sources for the history of the republic.

the commune; that these masters shall take oath to work in summer as well as in winter, and for the same wages, *bona fide, sine fraude, sicuti in proprio suo laborarent*, and to do no other work unless by special permission of the Podestà; that in January of each year the Podestà and the Captain, and the Consuls of the Trades and the Priors of the City, shall make all needful provision for the progress of the work, *et super omnibus utilitatibus faciendis pro dicto opere;* that all citizens of Siena, owners of beasts of burden, shall, twice a year, bring loads of marble to the work, on condition that the Bishop shall give to such persons for each load indulgence of one year for penance imposed on them; and, finally, that a judge shall be appointed who shall decide summarily, *sine solempnitate judiciorum*, in all matters of dispute concerning the works, and shall order payment of whatever is due to them, and that his judgments shall be executed by the Podestà or other civil authorities.

These provisions, standing as they do at the very head of the ancient Sienese code, clearly exhibit the popular and municipal character of the work, and indicate the feeling with which it was regarded as a sacred charge, the chief of the concerns of the commune.

The construction of so great and so magnificent an edifice as the people had resolved that their Duomo should be was a work to demand not only vast labor, but enormous expense. But the proud and prosper-

ous Sienese counted no cost too heavy. The contributions of individuals, the offerings of zeal or superstition, and sums voted from time to time by the Council of the Bell, supplied a considerable part of the fund for building.* The Bishop and canons of the church had large revenues, of which a portion may have been expended for the same object.†

But the fund was also increased by the offerings made every year, at the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the 15th of August, by the citizens of Siena and by the towns and cities subject to her dominion. These offerings were in money, or more generally in candles, or wax for candles. As early as 1200 an ordinance was passed that every inhabitant of the city and of its suburbs between the ages of eighteen and seventy should, under penalty of one hundred soldi, offer a wax-candle at the Duomo on the vigil of the Madonna of August, the Madonna of the Assumption, to whom the church was dedicated.‡ Whenever Siena added a new village or town to her rule, whether by peaceful means or by force, a clause

* It was an old rule of the Canon that one fourth of the revenue and of the offerings should be assigned to the church fabric. "Quatuor autem tam de reditu quam de oblatione fidelium . . . convenit fieri portiones; quarum sit una pontificis, altera clericorum, tertia pauperum, quarta fabricis applicanda." *Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum et Constitutorum S. Sedis Apost.* cap. lviii. § xxiii.

† The Bishop of Siena was one of the most powerful prelates of Northern Italy. His feudal possessions embraced a rich and extensive territory, over which he exercised exclusive jurisdiction, and from which he exacted a large annual tribute.

‡ *Archivio del Duomo,* Perg. 108.

was inserted in the *giuramento*, or oath of submission, binding the subject community to the offering of candles at the Duomo on the great feast of August, which still remains the chief festival of the Sienese calendar.*

Nor were these offerings of wax-candles the only tribute exacted by Siena from her subjects for the benefit of the church building. Many a robber chieftain of the Maremma or baron of the mountains was forced, during the thirteenth century, to submit himself, his castle, and his lands in feud to Siena, and, as a sign of his submission, to make offering each year with his

* In 1204, for instance, the town of Montelatrone, giving herself to Siena, promises to send every year a candle of twelve pounds of wax, on the Feast of S. Maria, in August, provided that the expenses of the bearers of it be defrayed by the authorities of Siena. In 1232, Chiusi, making league with her more powerful neighbor, promises to send a "cero," or wax-candle, every year, according to custom. A hundred years later, when the town of Foseni submitted to Sienese dominion, it promised that every year, at the Feast of S. Maria d' Agosto, its syndic should carry to the Duomo of Siena, in token of subjection, "unum cerum de cera foliatum, ponderis xxv libr. cere," and that he should be accompanied by eight householders of the town, each bringing a candle of one pound in weight. In 1224 the city of Grosseto, having rebelled against Siena, and being brought anew under her rule, promised, among other terms of submission, to send every year to Siena, on the Feast of the Assumption, fifty of its citizens, each of whom should present a wax-candle to the *Opera*, or Board of Works, of the Duomo. So, too, four years later, the Ghibelline exiles from Montepulciano, making league with Siena, pledged themselves that when with her aid they should be restored to the control of their city, they would every year, on the same feast, send their chamberlain, accompanied by fifty cavaliers, to offer at the cathedral a wax-candle of fifty pounds in weight.

For the last two instances, see Malavolti, *Historia*, parte i. pp. 51, 52. The preceding I have taken from the series of records known as the *Caleffo Vecchio*, in the Archives at Siena, each under its respective year. The list might be greatly extended. See Appendix I. Document II.

own hand of a certain number of silver marks on the high-altar of the cathedral.*

The festival of the Madonna of August, as the Sienese termed the Feast of the Assumption, was the most striking and picturesque of the civil and religious ceremonies of her year. But the contemporary mediæval chroniclers, finding the times in which they lived as prosaic as the present always is except to the poet, took little pains to note the details of even the most impressive scenes of which they were witnesses, and have left no description of the festival. The facts concerning it to be gathered from scattered sources are, however, enough to enable us to depict it in part, though the liveliest fancy may well fail to reproduce it in all its variety of aspect and brilliancy of color. On the vigil of the feast, a procession of the citizens, arranged under the ensigns of their trades or the banners of their parishes, and in their distinctive costumes, headed by the nobles of the city in their most splendid apparel, and accompanied by the magistracy in their garb of office, was conducted with solemn pomp to the cathedral, there to take part in the sacred services, and to lay their offerings on the high-altar. That evening, or the next day, the deputies of the cities, castles, and villages under the dominion of Siena, each delegation in ceremonial robes, together with the counts and barons who owed allegiance to the city, presented themselves with their due tribute, their

* Malavolti, *Historia*, parte ii. p. 28 b.

pride soothed by the fact that the symbol of their subjection had the form of an offering in the service of the Lord. The solemn and splendid ministrations of the church were made more magnificent by the stately order of the processions, the display of gay and costly dresses, the gleaming of armor and the waving of innumerable banners. It was a proud sight for Siena as she watched the defile through her narrow and embattled streets of band after band of the envoys of the towns that acknowledged her sway, and of the nobles whom she had compelled to become her vassals, and it was no wonder that for a befitting stage for the closing scene of such a spectacle she was resolved to have a cathedral that should not be surpassed by any other in Tuscany.

Whether all the offerings made, and all the tribute paid on the 15th of August, went to the advancement of the work of construction cannot be told; but that a large portion of them did so there is no doubt. The candles were disposed of for the benefit of the building fund, and the money was paid directly into the hands of the officer duly authorized to receive it and expend it in the prosecution of the works.*

* The profitable disposal of the great quantity of candles received in tribute was secured by the large and constant demand for them by persons wishing to burn candles at the shrine of the Madonna or of a favorite saint, in fulfilment of a vow or for the obtaining of some grace; and also by their use in the frequent religious processions by which the popular piety was both manifested and stimulated. There is no doubt that the sale of candles offered by the faithful was one of the chief common resources for obtaining means to carry on the work

Besides the sources of revenue already enumerated, there were not infrequent legacies to the *Opera*,* and during the greater part of the thirteenth century the resources for building seem to have been ample, without recourse to any extraordinary means for stimulating the zeal and good-will of the community towards the work.

The earliest documents known to exist relating to the building of the actual Duomo are of the year 1259. At a meeting of the Consiglio della Campana, held in

of church-building. In 1260, after the victory of Montaperti, the Sienese resolved to erect a church in honor of St. George, and the popular Council passed an ordinance, "*De cereis portandis ad ecclesiam Sancti Georgii in ejus festivitate*," the second chapter of which runs as follows: "*Ut cerei portati ad ecclesiam Sancti Georgii in festivitate convertantur in ejus utilitatem.* Et predicti cerei convertantur in constructionem ecclesie supradicte; et idem fiat de aliis cereis omnibus qui in festivitate predicta vel in vigilia ipsius festivitatis portabuntur ad dictam ecclesiam. Et omnes dicti cerei, quolibet anno in dicto festo debeant pervenire ad manus operarii ecclesie nove Sancti Georgii, vel trium bonorum hominum de populo dicte ecclesie, si operarius non esset, qui teneantur dictos cereos recipere, et eos convertere in constructionem dicte ecclesie." See *La Battaglia di Montaperti*, di Cesare Paoli, Siena, 1869, 8vo. *Documente* V. pp. 80, 81. See also, for similar facts, the terms of the agreement between the masters "dell' arte della pietra" and the *operaio* of the Duomo concerning the construction of an altar for the stonecutters' guild, November 4, 1368; Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese*, Siena, 1854–56, tomo i. p. 266. See Muratori, *Antich. Ital.* tomo iii. parte i. p. 242, for illustrations of the prevalence of this custom of offering candles or wax.

* In the *Archivio del Duomo* there are many records of such legacies. For instance, in the year 1235, Perg. 178; in 1246 one Alessio del già Guglielmo leaves his possessions to the Hospital of S. Maria di Siena, on condition that every year, *in perpetuo*, till the Duomo be finished, twelve measures ("staja") of grain be paid to the *Opera*, Perg. 198; and to this bequest he adds, by a codicil, a legacy of ten lire in money, Perg. 199; other legacies are recorded in 1250, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1265, and many subsequent years.

the Church of St. Christopher, on the 16th of November, 1259, it was voted that nine judicious men ("sapientes viri"), three from each of the local divisions, or *terzi*, of the city, should be appointed to consult with the Master of the Works; and that they should see and determine what best may be done in the church; and that whatever all or a majority of their number should order, so it should be done.*

On the 28th of November the nine "sapientes viri" render their reports, a majority of six recommending one course, the minority another. This division of opinion seems to have prevented immediate action, and ten weeks later, on the 11th of February, 1259–60,† at a meeting of the Consiglio, it was agreed ("fuit in concordia") to appoint a new committee of nine good men ("boni homines"), with a similar charge, to direct what work should be done at the Duomo. Accordingly, on the 20th of the month, the nine good men being met in the cathedral, and the name of Christ being invoked, they unanimously agree in ordering Fra Melano, Master of the Works, to vault the space between the two last marble columns and the rear wall of the church, and to do some other less important work. Three months later the same committee of nine—"no-

* This and the following documents referred to of the same and the next year are printed by Milanesi in the first volume of his *Documenti*. The originals are in the Archives of State, having been transferred thither, with other early records, from the Archives of the *Opera del Duomo*.

† The Sienese year, like the Florentine, began on the 25th of March, the Feast of the Annunciation.

biles viri boni electi et positi a consilio comunis et populi Senensis qualiter procedatur in opere sancte Marie et quomodo ibi laboretur"—direct Brother Melano to construct, between the two next columns, three more vaults like those just made, and also to vault the part of the church between the altar of St. Bartholomew and the door near to it. But the vaulting just completed, whether it had been constructed too hastily or with insufficient skill, was already giving signs of weakness; and on the 9th of June twelve master-workmen employed on the building, and two other master-builders not so employed, were consulted as to its stability. Their advice was that the vaults should not be thrown down and rebuilt on account of the cracks apparent in them, "because," they say, "other vaults to be made next them may be so well joined to them that they will not open any farther; nor are the said vaults in which the cracks exist at all weakened by these fissures."

Here all information concerning the progress of the building in this year comes to an end. But, besides the vivid illustration these documents afford of the manner in which the work was conducted, and of the active supervision of the community over it, they throw a strong light on the spirit of the Sienese at one of the most critical periods of their history. The year 1260 is the most famous in the annals of Siena. While she was thus busy with her cathedral, she was still busier in making preparations for a war in which her very existence as an independent city was at stake.

The long contentions during the first half of the century between the Emperor Frederic II. and successive popes had imbittered the great party strife throughout Italy between Guelf and Ghibelline. Though the conflicting ideas represented by these names were often lost sight of in the heats of civil faction or domestic feuds, or partially reconciled in alliances contracted under the influence of temporary but powerful interests, and Guelf might, in the confusion of the times, be found fighting against the Pope, and Ghibelline against the Emperor, yet in the main the Guelfs were constant in opposition to the domination of a foreign ruler in Italy, favoring the increase of popular liberties as the surest mode of securing the independence of their several cities, and hence the independence and unity of Italy; while, on the other hand, the Ghibellines sought, in their support of the Emperor, who maintained, to the imagination at least, the ancient imperial tradition, to provide a strong feudal head for the State, under whose rule existing privileges and liberties would be safe, civil discord repressed, and the natural grades of orderly society preserved. The very bitterness of the hatred between these two parties was an indication of the strength of the common passion and principle which in reality underlay all differences—the principle of communal independence, the passion for the unity of Italy. Each Tuscan city was in turn ruled now by one party and now by the other, according as the leaders of one or the other gained forces and ad-

herents. The history of Italy during this period is a record of woes wrought by these fatal divisions—a record of wars, treasons, banishments, confiscations, and ruin repeating themselves, with mournful monotony, year after year; fruitless victory alternating with fruitless defeat, the victors of one season becoming the vanquished the next.*

The death of Frederic, in 1250, depressed the spirit even more than it weakened the strength of the Ghibellines. The striking individuality of his strong character, the rare qualities of his genius, and the unusual fortune that attended him had deeply impressed the imaginations of his friends and his enemies alike. He had been the "wonder of mankind." Freed from the dread of his long-reaching arm, Florence, always Guelf at heart, called back those of her citizens who had been

* The chronicles of the Italian cities, both North and South, are full of pictures of the wretchedness produced by party divisions and passions. Freedom from strife is nowhere to be found; there is neither quiet nor security.

> "Cerca, misera, intorno dalle prode
> Le tue marine, e poi ti guarda in seno,
> S' alcuna parte in te di pace gode."

Malavolti, speaking of the hate of Guelf and Ghibelline, says, "Nè ci rimase alcun popolo che non fusse infettato da quella pernitiocissima contagione, per la quale, senza haverne altra causa, combatteva l' uno con l' altro, con nimicitia mortale, e non solamente una città contra all' altra, ma le medesime città divise in queste fattioni combattevano infra di loro; havendo ciascuna parte, non solo differenti le sue insegne, con le quali usciva alle guerre, ma haveva differentiati i colori, il portar de gli habiti, i gesti della persona, et ogni minima cosa; tanto che dall' aspetto solamente si potevan conoscere i Guelfi da Ghibellini; e non solo eran tra Sanesi queste divisioni, ma . . . era nato nuovo disparere tra molti cittadini." *Historia*, parte i. p. 61 b.

in exile, expelled some of the leading Ghibellines, and put herself at the head of the Guelf interest in Tuscany. But the rising power of Manfred, the son of Frederic, and now King of Sicily, soon restored hope to the Ghibellines, and inspired them with new boldness, so that the Florentines, fearing the designs of the great Ghibelline families that still remained within her walls, rose against them in 1258, and in a tumult of popular fury tore down, sacked, and burned their houses, murdered some of the chief among them, and drove the rest to flight and exile. Several hundreds of the banished Ghibellines, with Farinata degli Uberti,* one of the most marked figures of the time, at their head, betook themselves to Siena, where the Ghibellines were the ruling party. Siena was noted for her devotion to the imperial cause. She received the exiles with open arms, as bringing a welcome addition to her warlike strength. But in thus sheltering those whom Florence had driven out, Siena quickened into flame the always smouldering hate of her jealous and overbearing neighbor. For more than a hundred and fifty years, the two commonwealths had been in open hostility or latent enmity. The prosperity of one was an offence to the other. The boundaries of one were the limits to the territory of the other, and disputes were common along the variable line, affording easy occasion

* Few readers will need to be reminded of Dante's interview with "quell' altro magnanimo," who bore himself in torment

"Come avesse l' Inferno in gran dispitto."

for recourse to arms. But now there was more serious ground of quarrel.

Siena had bound herself by treaty only three years before not to receive or harbor any person banished from Florence.* Siena had no valid excuse for her breach of faith; the act was one of manifest hostility to Florence, in the interest of the cause which Siena had at heart. From within her walls the exiled and impatient Ghibellines could watch their chance, and with her aid make good their return to their own city. Florence could not endure to be thus threatened. She sent envoys to demand the fulfilment of the treaty. The Sienese, encouraged by Manfred, refused to send away the exiles. She drew close her alliance with the king, swearing fealty and obedience to him, and he, in return, took the commune formally under his protection, pledging himself to maintain, defend, and aid it against its enemies, whosoever they might be.† Mean-

* "Aliquem exbannitum a comuni Florentiæ." The original of the treaty is in the Archives of State at Siena, *Pergamene delle Riformagioni*, An. 1255. Signor Cesare Paoli has printed a part of it in his excellent work before referred to, *La Battaglia di Montaperti*, Documenti, p. 75.

† The curious instrument by which Manfred, in May, 1259, undertook the protection of the city still exists in the Sienese archives. It has been printed by Malavolti, parte ii. p. 2; and by Saint-Priest, *Hist. de la Conquête de Naples par Charles d'Anjou*, tome i. p. 360. The words of Manfred's promise have a rhetorical character which illustrates a trait in his personal disposition: "Promittentes a modo civitatem predictam cum omnibus supradictis manu tenere, defendere, et juvare contra quoslibet offensores, et sicut nos turrim sue fortitudinis elegerunt, sic sub felicis Dominii nostri tempore tranquilla pace quiescant et suorum emulorum insultus muniti potentie nostre clypeo non formident."

while active preparations for war went on on both sides. At the end of the year 1259 Manfred made good his promise by sending to Siena, as his vicar, his cousin Giordano d' Anglano, Count of San Severino, and with him a troop of mercenary German horsemen, several hundred strong. During the winter of 1259–60 Siena, besides fitting out a strong force to reduce Grosseto and other places in the Maremma that had rebelled against her, was engaged in strengthening her walls, in laying in a store of provisions, and in preparing supplies of tents, cross-bows, and other munitions of war "pro conforto nostrorum et pro terrore rebellium." *

On the 19th of April the Florentine forces moved out from Florence, and, after a successful campaign in the Maremma, encamped near Siena on the 17th of May. The next morning the Count Giordano, at the head of the band of German horse, supported by a small body of Sienese infantry, made an impetuous sortie, and routed the first ranks of the enemy; but, overpowered by numbers, he was driven back with great loss, leaving the banner of King Manfred in the hands of the Guelfs. But the vigor of this sortie seems to have convinced the Florentines that they were not strong enough to reduce the city. The next morning their army broke camp and withdrew, and a few days after re-entered Florence in triumph, with a number of pris-

* *Consiglio della Campana,* Reg. 9, car. 53. See Paoli, *La Battaglia di Montaperti,* p. 19.

oners, and with the royal banner of Manfred trailing in the mud. It was while these events were taking place that Fra Melano was building the new vaults at the Duomo and the discussion as to their stability was going on.

Manfred no sooner heard of the triumph of the Guelfs and of the insult that had been offered to his banner, than he sent a fresh supply of mercenary horse to Siena, while the Sienese themselves, feeling that the tug of war was yet to come, strained every nerve to prepare for the struggle.*

On the other hand, the Guelfs of Florence summoned all their allies and friends to join forces with them for an expedition that should put an end at once to the power of the Tuscan Ghibellines, to the preten-

* The chroniclers of Siena and Florence differ, as is natural, in their accounts of this period, and of the battle which ended it. Much legendary matter is mixed with the truth. The Florentines lay great stress on the part played by the exiles, especially by Farinata degli Uberti, both in the preliminary events and in the final combat. It was soothing to their pride to ascribe the largest possible share of the eventual defeat of the Florentine Guelfs to the arms of the exiled Florentine Ghibellines. It was Florence against Florence; the credit of victory remained with her. But the Sienese annalists make little count of the aid afforded to Siena by the exiles. Signor Paoli, in his treatise on the Battle of Montaperti, has carefully sifted the conflicting narratives, and has succeeded in reconciling many apparent discrepancies. My object being to illustrate the character of Siena at the time of the building of her Cathedral, it is needless for me to enter into these subordinate questions. It is to be regretted, however, that so striking a personage as Farinata finds but bare mention in the Sienese narratives. One reason for this neglect is, doubtless, that he was the head of what may be called the independent Ghibellines of Tuscany, who sought to make a party by themselves, while Siena had pledged fealty to Manfred, and united her cause with his.

sions of Manfred to interfere in the affairs of Northern Italy, and to the independence and prosperity of Siena.

At the end of August everything was ready, and the Guelf army moved out from Florence with great parade and jubilant confidence in an easy victory. Never before had so large a force set forth from her gates. All her own men of arms, excepting a scanty guard left to protect the city, together with contingents from Bologna, Prato, Volterra, and other cities, formed the main army of near thirty thousand men, while detachments from Orvieto, Perugia, and Assisi were on the way to add to its numbers. At the head of the army was the *carroccio*, from whose tall mast floated the red-and-white banner of Florence, the standard and signal for the whole host.* Siena could hardly hope to de-

* The *carroccio*, or "great car," that bore the standard of the commune, was a symbol of independence widely in use among the free cities of Italy. Its invention is ascribed to Eriberto, Archbishop of Milan in the eleventh century. It was universally held "as a thing venerable and sacred," guarded with greatest care in time of peace, and in time of war committed to the charge of a body of picked men who were to die rather than desert or surrender it. On occasion of a military expedition it was richly adorned and drawn to field by white oxen, or oxen in white trappings. At each corner of the car stood a man steadying, by a rope attached to its top, the mast from which floated the banner of the army. On the platform from which the mast rose was hung a bell that sounded on the march, and was rung when the car was stationary in time of battle. Upon this platform was also erected an altar at which mass was performed previous to an engagement, and on any distant expedition a priest attended the march for this special service. When a halt was made, the tent of the captain of the forces was set up by the *carroccio*, the signal of battle was given from it, and in case of stress or defeat it was the rallying-point of the scattered troops. A striking description of the *carroccio* of Florence is given by Ricordano Malespini

fend herself successfully against such a host of enemies. But she did not despair.

Having made directly for Siena, the army of the Guelfs encamped, on the 2d of September, about five miles from the city, in the valley of the little stream of the Biena, surrounded by low and broken ranges of hills, near the foot of a height called Montaperti, and not far from the banks of the torrent Arbia. Trusting to the impression made by their overwhelming force, envoys were sent to Siena to declare the will of the Florentines that the wall of the city should be broken down so that they might enter where they liked, and that Siena should submit herself to the dominion of Florence, otherwise she was to expect no mercy. The twenty-four Signori, who at the time composed the chief magistracy of the city, having heard the message, said to the envoys, "Return to your people and tell them a reply shall be given them by word of mouth." Thereupon the Twenty-four hastily summoned a general council in the Church of St. Christopher and laid before it the demands of the enemy. Then, according to the chronicle of Domenico Aldobrandini,* after various

in his History, cap. 164. For a further account of its use in various cities see Muratori, *Antich. Ital.* tomo i. parte 2, pp. 197–202.

* The writer of this chronicle was not a contemporary narrator of these events. The portion of his work relating to the Battle of Montaperti appears to have been drawn mainly from current popular tradition, and has a freshness and directness of narrative characteristic of its source. This portion was printed in 1844 by Signor Porri in his *Miscellanea Storica Sanese*. In the same volume is an account of the battle composed about the middle of the fifteenth century by Niccolò di Ventura. It adds some curious and picturesque details to Aldo-

opinions had been given, "Messer Bandinello counselled compliance with the demand; but this was not agreed to. Then the counsel of Messer Provenzano Salvani* was agreed to that they should send for Messer Giordano, vicar of King Manfred, to whom Siena was confided." The Count, summoned to the council, came attended by some of the officers of his troop of German cavalry, who, as soon as they learned, through an interpreter, the demand of the enemy, showed every sign of gladness. The assembly, thus encouraged, voted double pay for a full month to the whole band of horsemen in order to make them the more hearty in defence of Siena. "And when they reckoned it up, one hundred and eighteen thousand florins were needed, which, though sought for, were not to be found. And on this, Salimbene Salimbeni, speaking, said: 'Honorable Councillors, I deal in ready money, and I will provide it to the said amount.' And this offer being accepted by the Twenty-four, Salimbene went to his own house and brought the money on a little cart to the Piazza Tolomei, and delivered it

brandini's simpler narrative, but is unhistoric in spirit and awkward in style. An unsatisfactory translation of it is to be found in the *Chroniques Siennoises*, par le Duc de Dino, Paris, 1846, 8vo.

* This was he with whom, as Oderisi da Gubbio tells Dante,

> "all Tuscany resounded,
> And now he scarce is lisped of in Siena,
> Where he was lord, what time was overthrown
> The Florentine delirium, that superb
> Was at that day, as now 'tis prostitute."
>
> *Purgatory*, xi. 110–114. (Longfellow's Translation.)

to the said Twenty-four." Then the money was given to Count Giordano and his companions, and they left the council, and went to give to each man of the eight hundred who made up the troop of mercenaries his double pay for a month. "And these, having it, made good cheer with dances and songs, according to the custom of their country."

All the city being in commotion, the people crowded the streets and gathered around the Church of St. Christopher. There was no dismay, but on every side the hurry of preparation for the coming battle. The Council chose a syndic, giving him full powers to govern the city in all things. His name was Bonaguida Lucari, a man of pure and good life and of the best condition. Meanwhile the Bishop had summoned all the clergy—priests, canons, and friars—to the Duomo, and he exhorted them "to pray to God and the Virgin Mary and the Saints for the people and the city, that they would defend them against the impious lusts of the Florentines;" and then, all barefoot, they made a devout and solemn procession through the cathedral.

The Council was no sooner ended than the syndic Bonaguida, "inspired by God and by the Virgin Mary," cried with a loud voice to the people before the church in the Piazza Tolomei, and said, "'Though we be intrusted to King Manfred, yet now meseems we should give ourselves, in property and person, the city and the territory, with all our dominion, to the Virgin Mary; and do ye all follow me with pure faith and good-will.' Here-

upon Bonaguida bared his head and his feet, stripped himself to his shirt, put his girdle round his neck, and, having caused the keys of all the gates of Siena to be brought to him, he took them, and led the way for the people, who, all barefoot, followed him devoutly, with tears and lamentations, up to the Duomo; and entering it, all the people cried aloud *Misericordia!* and the Bishop, with the priests, came to meet them; and Bonaguida threw himself on the ground at the feet of the Bishop, and the people all went on their knees. Then the Bishop took Bonaguida by the hand, and lifted him up from the ground, and embraced and kissed him; and in like wise did all the people, one to another, in great charity and love, and all forgot their wrongs. And Bonaguida, standing before the picture of the Virgin Mary, uttered these words: 'Oh, Mother most pitiful! oh, Counsel and Help of the afflicted! help us. I give and dedicate to thee the city of Siena, with all its inhabitants; the territory, and all that belongeth to us. Lo, I consign to thee the keys. Guard thou thy city from every wicked work; above all, from the tyranny of the Florentines. Ah! Mother compassionate, accept this little gift of our good-will. And, notary, do thou take note of this donation, that it is forever, so long as the world endures.' And so it was done and recorded."*

* All public resolves and acts of state were recorded and published by a public notary. When, near the end of the century, the façade of the Duomo was constructed, a picture in mosaic, representing this scene, was set over the main door. In the centre was the Virgin enthroned,

The next morning the people assembled at the Duomo to join in a solemn procession. "The crucifix, carved in relief, which stands above the altar of St. James,* was taken down, and he who bore it was the leader of the procession; and after came the image of the Virgin Mary, under a canopy, and then the Bishop, barefoot, and Bonaguida, with head and feet bare, and his girdle round his neck; and behind them the clergy and the people barefoot, reciting psalms and prayers; and thus they went through Siena. And having returned to the Duomo, kneeling before the high-altar, they prayed God that he would deign to hear their prayers, though they were sinners, and that he would regard not their deserts, but for pity's sake would have compassion on them. Then the Bishop took the keys and blessed them and gave them back

holding the Child. On the right hand an angel presented to her the kneeling Bonaguida, in the act of offering to her the keys of the city; on the left stood Siena, in the form of a crowned woman, uttering the prayer "Respice, Virgo, Senam quam signas amenam." See Tizio, MSS. *Historiar. Sen.*, in the Biblioteca pubblica Comunale. This mosaic was probably destroyed in the remodelling of the façade in the fourteenth century. The lover of the early art of Siena may well regret its loss.

The devout at Siena are still given to the worship of the Virgin. In a chapel attached to the little old church of San Pietro, near the Porta Camollia, is a modern picture of the Virgin and Child, under which is the following inscription, quite in the spirit of the thirteenth century,—

"Maria Advocata
Mediatrix Optima
Inter Christum
Et Senam Suam."

* This crucifix still exists in the Duomo, at the altar in the left transept.

to Bonaguida, and he returned with them to St. Christopher's."

And in memory of this was painted, at the high-altar, a paper in the hand of the Child in the arms of his Mother, to signify the donation of Siena; and afterwards this Madonna was removed, and placed at the altar of St. Boniface, and was called Our Lady of Grace.

The rest of the day, Thursday, was spent in warlike preparations. On the next morning, Friday, September 3, at daybreak, a crier was sent through each quarter of the city, crying, "Let every man arm himself in the name of God and of the Virgin Mary, and report himself to his Gonfalonier."* Every man was ready, and early in the morning the Sienese army, in good array, marched out of the gate of *Santo Viene*, now *dei Pispini*, the mercenaries under command of Conte Giordano, and the soldiers of Siena under that of Conte Aldobrandino di Santafiore. Near the front went the carroccio of Siena, "with a white banner, which indeed gave comfort, for it seemed the mantle of the Virgin Mary." Following their special banners came the men-at-arms of each of the three wards of the city, "and priests and friars went with them, encouraging them; and some even of the clerks had arms for fighting." The Sienese advanced without opposition from the Florentines, passing first the stream of the Bozzone, and then that of the Arbia, and finally encamped at

* There were three Gonfaloniers, or Standard-bearers, one for each of the *Terzi*, or wards of the city.

the foot of Monteropoli, in face of the camp of the Guelfs.

That day after the army had gone out, the women who were left behind, and the old men who could not bear arms, kept fast, and went in solemn procession, with the Bishop and clergy at their head, to visit all the holy shrines, "praying God and the Virgin Mary for the safety of the Sienese people, and for their liberty." And having come back to the Duomo, "the Bishop, kneeling before the altar, made a devout prayer, and then gave the people his blessing, and part went to their houses to rest and part remained to pray."*

As soon as the Sienese army had taken up its position, final preparations were made for battle, and troops were told off to harass and disturb the enemy through the night. That night a mantling white mist was seen to hang over the Sienese camp, at which the people marvelled, and some said, "it seemed as it were the mantle of our Mother, the Virgin Mary, who watches over and defends the people of Siena."†

Early on the morning of Saturday, the 4th September, the Sienese prepared for the attack. "'It is near day,' said their captain-general, 'let all the troops comfort themselves with eating and drinking, and then, in

* Aldobrandini, p. 11; Ventura, p. 48.

† Aldobrandini, p. 18; Ventura, p. 56. From an early time the Sienese painters were accustomed to represent the Virgin with a white mantle; varying in this from the common traditional representation of her in a red tunic, with a blue robe or mantle. Many instances of this peculiar dress may be seen in the pictures in the Gallery of Fine Arts at Siena.

the name of God and his mother the Virgin Mary and the glorious Messer St. George, the noble cavalier, we will forward and begin the victory.'" And thereupon were served most excellent roast meats, and a great quantity of other provisions, and the best of wines and abundance of good bread. And the Germans set themselves to dancing and singing a song in their tongue, which says, "Soon shall we see what hap may fall." * And this they did while the rest of the army was getting ready; for it seemed to them a thousand years while they waited to mount.†

Orders were given that the advance should be made without sound of trumpet, but with a shout at the moment of joining battle. No one was to break ranks for

* One is reminded of the German mercenaries in the expedition on Branksome Hall,—

> "Behind the English bill and bow,
> The mercenaries firm and slow,
> Moved on to fight in dark array,
> By Conrad led of Wolfenstein,
> Who brought the band from distant Rhine,
> And sold their blood for foreign pay.
> And as they marched, in rugged tongue
> Songs of Teutonic feuds they sung."
>
> *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto iv. st. xviii.

† Ventura, p. 61. It is difficult to render the simplicity of the words of the chronicler: "E in questo vennero buonissime vivande arrostite di diverse carni, e grande quantità di confetti, e di perfetti e solenni vini e bene vantaggiati, e grande abondanza di pane pur del più bello. In questo mentre che le cose s' apparecchiavano, el conte d' Arasi, e misser Gualtieri con altri tedeschi presono uno bello ballo cantando canzone in tedesco, che a nostra lingua dicea: *Tosto vedremo ciò che si ritrova*. E questo fero per poco ispazio, acciocche la gente che dormiva si svegliasse e si mettesse in ponto, e predesse conforto di mangiare e bere, chè a loro pareva mille anni di montare a cavallo."

the sake of taking prisoners or booty; no quarter was to be given to the enemy, but the troops were to "*far carne*," to kill. At the moment of advance one of the German knights, the leader of a band of two hundred horse—Master Harry of Astimberg—coming to the Captain of the army, said, "The holy empire has given the privilege to our House of Astimberg to strike the first blow in every battle; be pleased to allow it now." His suit was granted, "and thereupon Messer Walter, nephew of the aforesaid Master Harry, leaped from his horse, and kneeling, said to his uncle, 'He who receiveth grace can best grant it; you have the right to deliver the first blow, and now grant to me that in your stead I may be the first to lower lance.' Then Master Harry yielded it to him, and kissed him and blessed him; and Messer Walter quickly mounted his horse, and gave thanks to his uncle for so great an honor, and put his helm on his head and set forward." *

The battle, once joined, soon became a desperate fight. What the Sienese lacked in numbers they made up in fury; and they were aided—so, at least, say the Florentine chroniclers—by treachery in the ranks of their enemies. "Messer Bocca degli Abati, the traitor," says Malespini in his chronicle, "smote and cut off the hand of Messer Jacopo de' Pazzi of Florence, who bore the standard of the cavalry of the commune of Florence. And the cavaliers and the people, see-

* Aldobrandini, p. 19. Ventura tells the story with many rhetorical additions and flourishes.

ing the standard down and the treachery, were put to rout." *

But spite of treachery, spite of panic, the Florentines fought bravely; and, as their fortune grew desperate, they rallied round their carroccio, and defended it with passionate valor. With tears they kissed it, taking thus a last farewell of all that was dear to them, and then turned to die, till a heap of the dead surrounded it like a wall. But all their efforts were vain. The Ghibellines gained possession of the carroccio, pulled down the banner of Florence, and dragged it in the blood and dust, to revenge the insult to the banner of King Manfred.

The victory was complete. Before nightfall the greater part of the Florentine host were dead or captive, and the rest were flying in dismay.

Meanwhile Siena was waiting and watching in anxious suspense for the issue of the day on which her fate depended. In the morning one Cerreto Ceccolini had gone, taking his drum with him, to the top of the tower of the Mariscotti,† whence he could see the battle-

* Malespini, *Istoria di Fiorenza*, c. 171; G. Villani, *Cronica*, vi. 78. It was this Bocca degli Abati whom Dante found freezing in the ice in which traitors were set:

"Whether 'twere will, or destiny, or chance,
I know not; but, in walking 'mong the heads,
I struck my foot hard in the face of one.
Weeping, he growled, 'Why dost thou trample me?
Unless thou comest to increase the vengeance
Of Montaperti, why dost thou molest me?'"
*Inferno*, xxxii. 76–81. (Longfellow's Translation.)

† The tower of the Mariscotti still exists, though diminished in height,

field. When he saw the Sienese host begin to move he beat his drum, and cried aloud to the people who gathered round the foot of the tower, telling them of the advance, and bidding them pray God for victory. When the fight became thick he beat his drum again, and cried, "Now they are at work; pray God for victory." And again, after a while, the drummer shouted, "Pray God for ours, for they seem to give way some little. Now I see it is the enemy who waver." And so from hour to hour through the day the drummer gave news to the people, till, at length, towards evening, beating his drum gayly, he cried that the Florentine banners were on the ground, and the enemy in flight.* That night there was rejoicing in Siena.

Wearied with slaughter and the pursuit of the routed Guelfs, the Sienese army took up their quarters on the site of their encampment of the previous night.

So ended—

> "Lo strazio e 'l grande scempio
> Che fece l' Arbia colorata in rossa;"

and neither Florence nor Siena has ever forgotten "la vendetta di Montaperti."†

attached to the Palazzo Saracini. From its summit even now the heights of Monteropoli and Montaperti can be seen.

* Aldobrandini, pp. 19–23; Ventura, pp. 65–73.

† *Inferno*, x. 85, 86; and xxxii. 80. It is impossible to reconcile the conflicting accounts of the numbers of the slain and captured Guelfs. The author of a manuscript account of the battle, which exists in the Laurentian library, who speaks as one present at it, says: "Fuitque numerus occisorum, sicut existimari potui qui adstabam, mille ducentorum virorum; sed undecim milium fuit numerus captivorum, ex quibus ultra octo milia fame et inedia in carcere perierunt. In hoc con-

On Sunday morning, at dawn, the Sienese troops set out on their triumphal return to the city, and the people who had remained at home went to meet them on the way. The army, impeded by the amount of booty and the number of prisoners, moved slowly, but reached the city before noon, and went at once to the Duomo, to offer thanks to God and to the glorious Virgin Mary for the great victory. Thence they descended to St. Christopher's Church, where they gave over to the Twenty-four all that belonged to the commune — baggage, standards, pavilions, tents, banners, and whatever of the sort they had taken from the Florentines.*

For three days there were continual rejoicings, with frequent religious processions and thanksgiving. The wounded were cared for at the public expense, and the dead were honorably buried. To two of them, Andrea Beccarini and Giovanni Ugurgieri, captains of companies and of noble family, was conceded the honor of burial in the cathedral, wherein, up to that time, no one had been entombed. The inscribed stones which marked their graves, worn by the feet of many generations, have been replaced in recent times by others, on which the ancient inscriptions are re-engraved.

flictu sunt capta viginti milia asinorum victualia simul et bladum portantium." Plut. xxi. Sin., cod. 5, S. Croce. Paoli, *Battaglia de Montaperti*, p. 60. From the effect produced at Florence by the defeat, there can be no doubt that a large part of her best men-at-arms were lost to her.

* Ventura, p. 81.

Near the main door of entrance one may read on a marble slab,

"D. O. M. Andreas ex nobili Beccarinorum familia, quia in Montis Aperti certamine strenue cecidit hic situs est primus."

And a little to the right,

"Johannes Ugurgerius decreto publico hic situs est. Decess. Montis Aperti clade anno salutis MCCLX."

The simplicity of the record is striking, but the memorial is sufficient; for after the lapse of more than six centuries, Siena is still proud of her greatest victory, and renews its memory each year in the picturesque games with which she celebrates the Festival of the Madonna of August.

Ventura says that the two masts of the Sienese carroccio were set up in the Duomo, as memorials of the battle, against two piers of the nave, fronting the choir. Two tall masts to-day stand bound to these piers, but popular tradition asserts that they are those that belonged to the captured carroccio of the Florentines. Both chronicler and tradition may be right; one mast may have borne the humbled lilies of Florence; the other the triumphant white ensign of Siena.

The episode of the battle of Montaperti begins and ends at the Duomo. The civic history interweaves itself with that of the Cathedral.

## III.—*Continued.*

### *SIENA, AND OUR LADY OF THE ASSUMPTION.*

#### II. THE STORY OF THE DUOMO AFTER 1260.

Siena had now little to fear from her enemies. She had broken the strength of her most dangerous rival, and had re-established the influence of her own party. The Ghibellines throughout Italy had reason to exult in her triumph. The Sienese were elated with a new sense of power. They were conscious that their victory not only made their city conspicuous, but had given her a political importance such as she had never before possessed. It was for them to make her as beautiful as she was glorious, and they turned with fresh ardor of piety to the completion and adornment of the Duomo, a work to which they were now pledged in an especial manner. In the straits of peril they had given themselves and their possessions to the Virgin, and they acknowledged with devout thankfulness the signal protection and assistance with which she had manifested her favor. Every emotion of pious gratitude combined with every sentiment of patriotic pride to stimulate them to make her church a worthy expression of their devotion to their heavenly intercessor.

Immediately after the victory the old enactment was revived, that on the vigil of the Assumption of Our Lady every adult citizen of Siena should offer in the cathedral a pound of refined wax — a custom, says Malavolti, writing more than three centuries later, "which has been always observed and is still maintained." *

The design upon which the cathedral was building did not embrace the present prolonged choir or the existing façade. Both of these were additions of a later period; and it is not unlikely that the building, as originally designed, was now approaching its completion, for in 1262 there was a large expenditure for lead to finish the work on the roof,† and two years later the final touch was given to the cupola at the intersection of nave and transept.‡

This cupola, though of no unusual size and of little grace of design, presents such marked irregularity in the lines and dimensions of its several sides as to be one of those puzzles of construction that many Italian buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offer to the architect, and in which the Duomo at Siena abounds.§ It is plain that the builders of that time worked upon a much looser plan, paid less attention to exactness of line and measure, and were less regardful of symmetry in corresponding parts than the

* *Historia*, parte ii. p. 20 b. † *Archivio del Duomo*, Perg. 254, 270.
‡ Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 145.
§ See Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, "Architektur," pp. 101, 131.

builders of a later period. And it is at least an open question whether the irregularities which their works display, when not carried so far as to attract attention to the want of conformity, be not a source of pleasure to the eye and of intended perspective effects unattained in more exact and symmetrical construction.*

It agrees with the view that the Duomo was at this time near completion, according to the plan then followed, to find that the next existing record relates to an accessory work, of no structural importance, but essential for the due performance of service within the cathedral walls—namely, the construction of a pulpit worthy of the building in which it was to stand. In 1260 Niccola Pisano had designed and sculptured the famous pulpit which, originally intended for the Duomo at Pisa, now stands, altered in its proportions, in the neighboring baptistery. It was a work such as Italy had not seen before—the sign of a new life in art; the proof of a new life in society. It was not the tentative effort of uncertain emotion and unskilled workmanship, but the deliberate product of a self-con-

* At Siena there is not merely a slight difference in the size of correspondent piers, but in many of them the centres, as well as the circumscribing lines of the bases and capitals, are out of line one with another, so that there is a curiously delicate difference in the curves and angles of the vaulting ribs; but there are also more conspicuous irregularities which can hardly be defended as within the limits of good effect, and which seem the result of careless building—such, for example, as the break in the line of the cornice over the arches of the nave at the point where the two last arches towards the façade connect with the others. See Appendix II. "Irregularities of Construction in Italian Buildings of the Middle Ages."

fident and well-trained genius—a genius, indeed, not yet completely master of the principles, or even the methods, of sculpture, but far advanced on the way to their discovery and application, and already capable of giving noble expression to its own conception. The feeling for art—especially for art at once decorative in character and religious in motive, which was one of the most marked traits of the revival of the national spirit in Italy—led to the rapid spread of Niccola's fame.

The artist in sympathy with his generation is the soul and hand by which its imperfect ideals are shaped for it into definite forms. The appreciation of his contemporaries is his highest and most inspiring stimulant. And this appreciation is the essential condition for the production of works that, rising above the level of personal fancy and the demand of personal caprice, succeed in passing the narrow limits of individual experience, and give new and just expression to emotions, sentiments, and conceptions common to a race. It was the characteristic of this period, in which the flush of a fresh consciousness of national existence was felt throughout Italy, that architecture and sculpture afforded expression to the deepest sentiments, patriotic or religious as they might be, of the nation, and answered with completest recognition to that intense demand for utterance which such sentiments create in the breasts of an ardent, poetic, and emotional people in the early stages of national

life. The place of these arts was to be taken in later generations by poetry and by painting; but at this time they were the best suited to the needs of the people.

It was under conditions such as these that Niccola's powers had developed. His works, the best in their kind, were competed for by distant as well as by neighboring cities. Siena, induced by his fame, and eager to have a pulpit worthy of her cathedral—one that should at least rival the pulpit of Pisa—applied to Niccola to construct and carve one for her. He undertook the commission, and the contract between Fra Melano, "operarius operis sancte Marie majoris ecclesie Senensis," and "magister Nicolus lapidum de paroccia ecclesie sancti Blasii de ponte de Pisis," still exists in the Sienese archives. It is an interesting document in its illustration of the practical conditions under which the greatest artist of the thirteenth century—the Giotto of sculpture—led his life and did his work. The instrument is dated October 5, 1266.*

Niccola must have previously furnished a design which had been accepted, for he binds himself to deliver, within a month, at Pisa, to Fra Melano or his agent, eleven columns with their capitals, seven pieces of marble for the arches, and eight for the spaces between them, seven other slabs, and sixteen small columns, besides such other pieces as were necessary for

* It is printed by Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 145. An abstract of it, not altogether accurate, may be found in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, i. 131—a book important as a repertory of information, but deficient in higher respects.

the construction of the pulpit, excepting what were required for the foundation and the stairs, and excepting also the lions and the "pedestals" of the eleven columns first mentioned. All these were to be of Carrara marble, and the price agreed upon for them was sixty-five lire in Pisan money, "libras denar. pisanor."* Niccola further bound himself to go to Siena in the following March, and there to reside until the pulpit should be finished; and to undertake during this time no other work without express permission from Fra Melano or his successor as *operarius*. He was, however, to be at liberty to spend a fortnight at Pisa four times a year, in the interest of the work on the cathedral and baptistery there—"ad consiliandum ipsa opera, et etiam pro suis ipsius magistri Niccholi factis propriis." He was further to bring with him from Pisa two of his scholars, Arnolfo and Lapo, with leave to add a third to their number, to assist him on the work, and to remain with him at Siena till its completion, or at least for so long as the term of apprenticeship for which they were bound to him might extend. He was also to be at liberty to bring with him his son Giovanni. His own salary was to be eight soldi a day; but it was to be paid—and this provision is worth not-

* Crowe and Cavalcaselle make the mistake of saying that he agreed to deliver these marbles at *Siena*, and that "he was also to furnish the lions or pediments" [*sic*], adding, by way of explanation, "which probably were to be found ready made at Pisa." In view of the purely exceptional genius displayed in the design and sculpture of the lions of the Sienese pulpit, this supposition is curiously absurd.

ing—only for the days on which he should be actually at work or directing work, "pro singulo die quo in ipso opere laborabit et faciet laborari." His scholars were each to be paid six soldi a day; and his son, if Niccola chose to bring him, should be paid, or his father should be paid for him, four soldi a day. Niccola and his scholars were further to be free from every tax or civic claim, "omnibus servitiis realibus et personalibus," during their stay at Siena, and were to be provided with board and lodging, "hospitium et lectos." The parties being bound under heavy penalties to all these agreements, the contract was signed and duly witnessed in the Baptistery at Pisa.

The work, thus undertaken, was rapidly accomplished. On the 6th of November, 1268, Niccola gave to Fra Melano a final receipt for the sum due to him, his son, and his scholars on account of wages, and a discharge from all obligations and compacts. Two years was certainly a brief time for the construction and sculpture of a work so elaborate in design, so careful in execution, as this pulpit. Of all the works of Niccola, none affords a fuller expression of his genius or displays more maturity of power. In comparison with the pulpit at Pisa, it shows a more advanced study of nature and living forms, and a greater facility of composition. The simplicity of composition visible in the bass-reliefs of the earlier work, and the direct imitation of classic models in the pose and character of certain figures, are here exchanged for richer and

more complicate designs, in which the tendency towards imitation of antique art is overborne by the lively dramatic spirit of the artist, and by the freedom gained from confidence in his own powers.* His later work shows the hand of one conscious of being a master.

The body of the pulpit is octagonal in form, one side being left open for entrance; the others are filled with bass-reliefs, separated from each other at the angles by admirable figures of virtues and angels. The bass-reliefs represent in order the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment.†

In purity of style, the best of these sculptures are those in which the composition is most simple and least crowded, as the Nativity and the Adoration; but as a master of dramatic effect, Niccola exhibits his highest power in the Massacre of the Innocents, in which the violent action and passionate expression of single figures are rendered with a force and truth of characterization that leave little to be desired. Sculpture showed itself here capable once more, after long

* Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, p. 563, seems to attribute this difference to the influence upon his father of Giovanni —"der jüngere Meister des dramatischen Ausdruckes behält das Feld." But Giovanni was plainly too young at this time to affect his father's style. It is not surprising that his own undoubted works of a subsequent time should partake of the spirit of the later rather than the earlier works of his father.

† The first, second, third, sixth, and seventh represent the same subjects as those of the five bass-reliefs of the Pisan pulpit.

disability, of displaying correspondence of emotion in face and gesture. The intricacy and fulness of this and the succeeding compositions reveal, however, the tendency which afterwards prevailed in Italian sculpture, and reached its height in the works of Ghiberti, towards a pictorial method essentially in contradiction with the principles on which sculpture, as a special art, properly rests. Italian sculpture is, from its beginning, picturesque and romantic as contrasted with the antique and classic work. It exchanges dignity, tranquillity, and simplicity for variety and liveliness. Niccola is the first, and one would say the greatest, of the long line of romantic sculptors, if Michael Angelo were not the last.

In its architectural construction, no less than in the character of its bass-reliefs, the Sienese pulpit shows the advance that Niccola had made in the six years since the Pisan pulpit was completed. The body of the Sienese pulpit rests upon arches, in whose spandrels are set figures of prophets and apostles. The arches spring from eight columns, which stand on a wide and well-proportioned platform; a ninth, central, column supports the pulpit floor, and rests on a base adorned with seven finely designed female figures, symbolizing the seven sciences, and indicating by their position the subjection of human knowledge to divine wisdom. Of the other columns, four have simple bases, two rest each on the back of a lion, and the remaining two each on the back of a lioness giving

suck to her cubs. These are the first realistic representations of living animals which the mediæval revival of art had produced; and in vivacity and energy of rendering, in the thoroughly artistic treatment of leonine spirit and form, they have never been surpassed. Niccola had learned and knew how to apply the fundamental principle of his art—the principle of absolute truth to nature in imaginative no less than in direct representation.*

The six centuries that have passed since the pulpit was completed have mellowed the hue of its marbles, and thus added to its beauty more than they have taken from it of its original perfection. And if it be as well guarded from accident and wilful injury henceforth as it has been hitherto, it may last for twice as many centuries yet, one of the most precious and entire monuments of the arts of the early revival in Italy.

After the completion of the pulpit some years seem to have passed during which no new work of importance was undertaken. A record, however, of the year 1271 relates to a curious ceremony performed within the Duomo, and to a custom that illustrates the temper

* Burckhardt speaks of these lions as "durch antike Anregung ganz lebendig gewordenen Thierbilder." But they show less of antique suggestion or classical influence than of study of nature. The figures of animals on the sarcophagi at Pisa, which were Niccola's instructors, are inferior to his work alike as natural or imaginative representations. Niccola's technical method proves his close study of classic remains, but his later artistic style is that of an independent master, whose strokes are the expression of his own genius.

of the period. At this time the Guelfs had gained the upperhand in Siena, and were retaliating the wrongs they had suffered by exiling some of the chief Ghibellines, tearing down their houses, and reducing their strongholds in the neighboring country. Having been successful in a recent expedition, and having taken many prisoners, it was ordered, by a vote of the General Council on the 3d of June, 1271, that five prisoners, enumerated by name, should be released, and "offered at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the victory vouchsafed to us over the enemies of the commune."*

The release of certain prisoners on the Feast of the Assumption, in honor of the Virgin, to whom they were presented before the altar in the Duomo, was a custom long practised by the Sienese. Instances of it occur more than a century after this time. The motive partook more of superstition than of humanity. The sufferings of prisoners during the Middle Ages were horrible. The common treatment of them was

* *Consiglio della Campana*, xiv. 30. The Church of St. Christopher, where the Council held its sessions, had lately been greatly injured by the fall of the Palace and Tower of the Salvani, the demolition of which had been ordered by the commune to reduce the power of the great Ghibelline family, of which Provenzano Salvani, famous through Dante's mention of him (*Purgatory*, xi. 121), had been the head. He had fallen in battle in 1269, and the commune took advantage of his death to destroy his house. For some months the Piazza of San Cristofano was encumbered with the ruins. The commune, taking the fault of the injury to the church upon itself, appointed Fra Melano to conduct the necessary repairs, according to the estimate, at a cost of not more than two hundred lire. *Consiglio della Campana*, xiv. 10, 21, 23, 87; xv. 50.

a mingling of cruelty and neglect. Multitudes pined and starved and died without help. Men looked on them as either criminals or enemies to whom no pity was due.

There was one man, however, at this time in Siena who felt compassion for those languishing in captivity, and was known to the city as their friend. When Dante met the Sienese gentlewoman Sapia in Purgatory, she told him that she should not have advanced so far towards the end of her penance, had it not been that Pier Pettignano, grieving for her through charity, had remembered her in his holy prayers.*

Pier Pettignano, Peter the Combmaker, was known and honored in Siena for his good deeds; he grieved through charity for all who were in suffering, and he visited and ministered to those who were in prison. The record remains of a debate in the Council of the Bell, on the 11th of August, 1282, concerning the release of prisoners for the approaching Feast of the Assumption.† In this debate it was urged that Pier Pettignano be empowered to select from the crowd of prisoners those who should be delivered. The argument by which the proposal was supported has not been preserved, but it doubtless rested either on the probity of his character, which gave assurance that his selection would be uninfluenced by personal or partisan considerations, or on his acquaintance with the prisons,

* *Purgatory*, xiii. 128.

† See App. I. "Documents relating to the Duomo of Siena." No. V.

which qualified him to determine who among the prisoners were most deserving of release.*

During these years there was constant work on the cathedral. Its outside was still incomplete. Like so many of the finest churches, it was furnished with only a plain substantial front wall, intended to serve as the backing and support of an ornamental façade. The principle of Gothic building, that every part, including what might seem at first sight as mere ornament, should have a constructive value, was never adopted by Italian builders. They made iron bars and firm mortar do the work of good construction, and they fastened on their ornament in what forms or in what place they chose, with little regard to any principle but that of picturesque effect. Of this they were consummate masters, and the style of architecture which is consequently characteristic of Italy, and in which Italian architects have never been surpassed, is that in which incrusted takes the place of constructive ornament, so that there is a double building, the interior hidden solid frame, and the exterior visible ornamental shell. When they adopted Gothic forms, the builders still

* *Consiglio della Campana*, xxvi. 11: "Jacobus Domini Renaldi Gilii consuluit et dixit quod Pierus Pettinarius hinc ad diem beate Marie Virginis debeat invenire X ex pregionibus Comunis Senarum pauperioribus quos invenire poterit, et illi quos inveniret relaxentur." See also *Consiglio della Campana*, xxxviii. 65, 28th of December, 1290.

On the 18th of December, 1290, the Council voted that two hundred lire be given to the Minor Friars for a noble tomb to be erected in their church over the grave of S. Pier Pettignano, "con ciborio ed altare," with pyx and altar.

built according to Roman tradition, and the outside appearance often had little relation but that of contiguity with the inner and essential framework. This was the case at Siena.

The work on the interior of the Duomo having reached such a point that no great expenditure upon it was required, the authorities in charge determined about 1280 to adorn the exterior with a façade which should excel all other similar structures in Tuscany, and should testify by its magnificence to the steadily held resolve to express in the splendor of the building the piety and the pride of the people. Giovanni Pisano, who had now acquired reputation almost equal to that which his father had enjoyed as the best artist in Italy, was employed to give the design for the façade and to oversee its construction. The work was begun in 1284, and pushed rapidly forward. Although in subsequent times the façade has suffered many changes, yet the general features of the original design are probably preserved in the existing front. Lifted on a wide platform, to which eleven broad steps lead up from the level of the surrounding piazza, the white marble piers, gables, and pinnacles rise fronting the west, dazzling the eye with gilded decorations, crowded with statues and busts of prophets, apostles, and saints, with symbolic figures of animals and with sculptured ornament. On the peak of the central gable stands the figure of the angel of the Annunciation, while on the deep blue stellated field of the gable itself is set a gilded statue

of the Madonna of the Assumption surrounded by a glory of rays that flash in the bright sunlight. The effect of the façade is brilliant beyond that of any other church-front in Tuscany. It is a showy pile of ornamental work, by an artist skilled in picturesque composition; but it has not the grace or elegance characteristic of the best Italian designs. It wants simplicity; its general proportions fail in grandeur and its lines in dignity. It is costly and elaborate, it is full of interest, but it is not beautiful; it indicates the setting-in of the decline of Italian architecture. The contemporary façade of the Duomo at Orvieto is superior to it in unity of design, in the interesting nature of its various parts, and in the splendid color of its famous mosaics. There may be, however, some unfairness in judging of the original from the present front. Many changes have been made in it in different centuries, and their accumulated effect may have been to injure the general character of the façade. A few years since, the old stone having suffered from long exposure, a complete renewal was undertaken; the old forms were reproduced, but the old spirit no longer inspired them; the subtile quality of ancient excellence refused to be copied. The façade is now a brand-new modern reproduction, and suits the taste of modern Siena. Of the work of the great days of mediæval sculpture scarcely a trace remains — not a fragment that belongs to the school of the Pisani— and only about the doors some few venerable mould-

ings and bits of bass-relief bear witness to the merits of the stone-cutters of the early time.

The construction of so elaborate a façade was not a work to be accomplished in a short time. In 1290 Giovanni Pisano was still employed as "Caput magistrorum operis beate Virginis Marie." At this time, however, he came under heavy penalty for some grievous misdeed; but, on the ground that without him the work on the Duomo could not be well carried on ("sine quo magistro Johanne bene perfici non posset"), it was proposed to the Council of the Bell to ratify the decision of the "eighteen governors and defenders of the commune," that the said Giovanni should be restored to his place on the work and absolved from the sentence pronounced upon him without payment of any fine.*

It would seem that the popular council refused to adopt this proposal, for in October of the same year Giovanni paid to the treasury of the commune the sum of eight hundred lire, "pro una condempnatione facta de eo in DC libras . . . et solvit tertium plus." So heavy a fine implies the commission of a very grave offence.

Meanwhile the cost of building the façade had out-

* The mode in which it was proposed that this absolution should be secured is exceedingly curious: "provisum sit . . . quod magister Johannes . . . ad laudem, et reverentiam, et honorem gloriose Marie semper Virginis offeratur dicto operi, quia dictus magister Johannes sit valde utilis et necessarius dicte opere; cum condempnationibus de eo factis; quod facta dicta oblatione, dicte sue condempnationes cancellentur de libris Comunis Sen. sine aliqua solutione pecunie." Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 162.

run the funds in the hands of the *operarius*, and in the autumn of this year, 1290, he petitioned the commune for a grant of money, without which the work could not be carried on—"et laborerium jam inceptum non possit ad laudem effectui produci." His prayer was laid before the council, and on the 20th of October a grant of eight hundred lire, just the amount of Giovanni's fine, was voted by a majority of 219 to 12.* Eight years afterwards a similar petition was made and a similar grant voted by the council.

Numerous documents in the Archives of the Duomo, relating chiefly to the purchase of woodland and quarry, indicate activity in building during the early years of the fourteenth century, but no record remains of the special work done.†

It was during this time, however, that the most important work of art within the cathedral, with the exception of Niccola's pulpit, was commissioned and executed by Duccio, the chief of the painters of Siena. The revival of painting was naturally later than that of sculpture in Italy. As a more refined and complicate art, it requires a higher culture than that demanded for the development and appreciation of the simpler

* *Consiglio della Campana*, xl. 50. See Appendix I. "Documents relating to the Duomo of Siena." No. VI.

† In 1303 the commune conceded to the *Opera* a tract of land known as *il pian del Lago*, from which wood and stone were supplied for construction. Perg. 563. In 1305, 1306, 1308, 1310 the *Opera* bought many pieces of woodland and quarry, *terra boscata e petraja*. Perg. 593, 594, 596, 604, 605, 611, 615. Other similar purchases were made in 1319, 1321, and later years. As one tract was exhausted another was bought.

processes, motives, and effects of sculpture. A generation passed after Niccola Pisano had opened the way of progress, not less to painters than sculptors, before the painters of Italy showed that they comprehended the lesson taught by his work, and before they gained, by taking nature as their model, the power to free their art from the bondage to traditional types of representation under which it had long lain enslaved and inert. Duccio di Boninsegna was the first master of this new school in Siena. Unable to liberate himself completely from the fetters of ancient methods and conventional forms of expression, he yet did succeed in giving to his works the stamp of a vigorous originality, and, trusting to nature more than his predecessors had done, he reached a truth in representation, both of form and of expression, and a reality of scenic composition, such as they had been unable to attain. Older than Giotto by some years, of a less creative imagination, and a less poetic temperament, he at times rises almost to rivalry with the greatest of Florentine masters in the dramatic power of his composition, and the simplicity and sincerity of the expression of his single figures. He was an innovator, but only to such degree as to keep in close harmony with the temper of his advancing contemporaries, and to secure their appreciation, sympathy, and applause. He had that fondness for gay and brilliant color, for elaboration of ornamental detail, and for exquisite finish which were afterwards characteristic of the Sienese school, and which not

seldom give a charm to pictures that have little other merit.

In 1308 Duccio entered into agreement with the head of the works to paint a picture for the high-altar of the Duomo. It was to be the best he could do, as the Lord should give him grace to do it—"quam melius poterit et sciverit et Dominus sibi largietur." While engaged upon it he was to undertake no other work; his salary was to be at the rate of sixteen soldi a day for every day employed upon it—"pro quolibet die, quo dictus Duccius laborabit suis manibus in dicta tabula;" all needed materials were to be supplied to him free of cost, "so that the said Duccio shall be bound to put nothing into it but his own self and his labor"—"ita quod dictus Duccius nihil in ea mictere teneatur, nisi suam personam et suum laborem."*

The work was conceived in all the freshness and glow of the spirit which was now revivifying the forms of painting. It was to be worthy of its destination, and in size no less than in character it was intended to surpass whatever of a similar sort had preceded it in Tuscany. The main panel, fourteen feet long, and seven high, was set in a rich architectural framework, designed to afford places for numerous minor scenes and separate figures. As the altar stood free in the choir, and the altar-piece was to be seen from behind as well as from before, both sides were to be covered with painting.

* *Archivio del Duomo*, Perg. 603; Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 166.

The main subject was prescribed to the artist by the special devotion of the Sienese to the Virgin. On the front of his great panel Duccio represented the Virgin enthroned, a sweet and nobly conceived figure, holding the infant Christ. On the high back of the throne lean four angels, while two on each side support its arms. Angels and saints are ranged to the right and left, and kneeling before the throne are the four bishops, the protectors of the city. On the cushioned stool on which the feet of the Virgin rest, the artist inscribed the following pious and proud petition:

Mater · Sancta · Dei · Sis · Caussa · Senis · Requiei ·
Sis · Ducio · Vita · Te · Quia · Depinxit · Ita ·

On the back of the altar-piece Duccio painted the chief scenes of the Passion in a series of twenty-six compositions, in which the dramatic quality of his genius finds full expression, while the inspiration that he drew from nature justifies their claim to rank among the best of the early productions of modern creative art. The series has been compared with that of the same subject by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua. The comparison is unfair to it. The genius of Giotto was solitary in moral intensity and in poetic sentiment. But, as independent and imaginative conceptions, expressed with a power and freedom hitherto quite unknown in Sienese art, Duccio's pictures deserve a very high place of honor.

Nearly two years had passed since Duccio undertook the commission before the altar-piece was ready to be

set in its place in the Duomo. It was on the 9th of June, 1310, that this "the most beautiful picture that ever was seen or made, and that cost more than three thousand golden florins," as the chronicler Tura del Grasso reports, was carried from the workshop of the artist to the cathedral. The day was a festival for the Sienese. Another chronicler, whose name is not known, but whose work is preserved in manuscript in the Communal Library of Siena, gives an account of the celebration. He says, "At this time the altar-piece for the high-altar was finished, and the picture which was called the 'Madonna with the large eyes,' or Our Lady of Grace, that now hangs over the altar of St. Boniface, was taken down. Now this Our Lady was she who had hearkened to the people of Siena when the Florentines were routed at Monte Aperto, and her place was changed because the new one was made, which is far more beautiful and devout and larger, and is painted on the back with the stories of the Old and New Testament. And on the day that it was carried to the Duomo the shops were shut, and the bishop conducted a great and devout company of priests and friars in solemn procession, accompanied by the nine signiors, and all the officers of the commune, and all the people, and one after another the worthiest with lighted candles in their hands took places near the picture, and behind came the women and children with great devotion. And they accompanied the said picture up to the Duomo, making the procession around

the Campo, as is the custom, all the bells ringing joyously, out of reverence for so noble a picture as is this. And this picture Duccio di Niccolò the painter made, and it was made in the house of the Muciatti outside the gate *a Stalloreggi.* And all that day they stood in prayer with great almsgiving for poor persons, praying God and his Mother, who is our advocate, to defend us by their infinite mercy from every adversity and all evil, and keep us from the hands of traitors and of the enemies of Siena." An entry in the book of public accounts of the commune completes the picturesque narrative, which reminds the reader of the story of the rejoicings in Florence with which Cimabue's famous Madonna was accompanied some years earlier to its place in Sta. Maria Novella. The entry runs thus: "Spent on the transportation of the picture painted by Duccio, Lire 12 Soldi 10, paid to the sounders of trumpets, cymbals, and drums for having gone to meet the said picture."*

For nearly two hundred years this magnificent work of religious art stood in its place of honor over the high-altar. By degrees the spirit of the Renaissance of the fifteenth century so took possession of the Sienese that they no longer cared for their ancient and historic treasure. In 1506 it was taken down from the

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 169. It seems that the whole work on the altar-piece was not finished at the time of its setting-up over the high-altar, and in November, 1310, provision is made that "in laborerio nove et magne tabule beate Marie semper Virginis gloriose, sollicite et cum omni diligentia procedatur." Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 175.

altar, and its place filled by an elaborate bronze tabernacle, in the depraved taste of the later time. Even its character as an altar-piece was destroyed; front and back were divided and hung upon the wall at opposite ends of the transept; the beautiful architectural framework was broken up; the *gradino*, painted on one side with figures of the Apostles, on the other with scenes from the life of the Virgin, was sawn in pieces, and its dismembered fragments were scattered over the walls of the adjoining sacristy. It is fortunate that the wanton iconoclasts of the Renaissance did not shove the whole picture into some damp lumber-room, where it might have been utterly destroyed, as so many of the rarest works of the early time have been, by mould and vermin.

Early in the fourteenth century, not many years after the cathedral had been adorned with Duccio's altar-piece, a work was taken in hand which had long been in consideration, and which, as finally accomplished, produced a great change in the form and aspect of the Duomo. A small and old church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and used as a baptistery, stood on the cathedral square in inconvenient neighborhood to the great building. It was now resolved to carry out an old intention to tear down this old church and to build a new baptistery in a place where it should not interfere with the approach to the Duomo.*

* In 1297, "Fu rimesso nei Nove l'affare della Chiesa di San Giovanni che secondo il Capitolo dello Statuto doveva demolirsi e riedificarsi in altro luogo." *Consiglio della Campana*, lii. 25. Nothing was then done, as appears from *Consiglio della Campana*, liii. 23, 1298. In 1315 a

The precise date of the beginning of the work is uncertain, but it was not far from 1315 that the foundations of the new church were laid. The site chosen for it was immediately behind the Duomo, where the ground fell off precipitously, and the design contemplated not only the building of the baptistery on this lower level, but the extension of the choir of the Duomo over it, so that the floor of the upper church should serve as the ceiling of the lower, and the external walls of the two churches form a continuous and harmonious structure. There was to be no interior passage between the churches, but communication was to be maintained by a broad flight of external steps leading from the level of the entrance to the baptistery up to the square of the Duomo. The design was striking from its novelty and its boldness. The Sienese were always venturesome builders, not easily turned aside from their resolves by difficulties that might have appalled a people less secure in the resources of their arts and of their wealth. The work was rapidly pushed forward, but the design did not meet with unanimous approval, and in 1322 five expert master builders were called upon by the authorities of the commune to give their opinion as to its merits and the probability of its successful completion. Chief among these advisers was Lorenzo Maitani, the renowned ar-

beginning was perhaps made. *Consiglio della Campana*, lxxxvi. 33. In the chronicle ascribed to Giovanni Bisdomini it is said that the façade of the new church of San Giovanni was begun in 1317.

chitect of the Cathedral of Orvieto, over the building of which, begun more than thirty years before, he was at this time presiding. The five skilled builders united in the opinion that the work should not be proceeded with, on the grounds that the foundation and walls of the new structure were not of sufficient strength, considering the great height to which the walls must be carried; that the junction of the new structure with the old could not be effected without great risk to the stability of the existing edifice; that the proposed extension would throw the dome "out of the centre of the cross"—"non remaneret in medio crucis ut rationabiliter remanere deberet;" that the proportions of the Duomo would be injured and the required relations of length, breadth, and height—"ut jura ecclesie postulant"—would not be preserved. As a sequel to this discouraging report, they advised the construction of an entirely new church, "beautiful, great, and magnificent" —"pulcra, magnia [*sic*] et magnifica, que sit bene proportionata . . . cum omnibus fulgidis ornamentis . . . ad hoc, ut noster dominus Jesus Christus et eius Mater sanctissima, eiusque curia celestis altissima, in ipsa ecclesia benedicatur, et collaudetur in ynnis, et dictum Comune Sen. ab eis semper protegatur aversis et perpetuo honoretur." *

This discouraging advice was no sooner given than

* *Archivio del Duomo*, Perg. 667. Printed by Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, ii. 60; by Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, ii. 129; and by Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 186.

the *operarius*, or overseer of the works, took measures to have a meeting called "of seventy-five of the best and wisest men of the city," that he might be guided by their opinion as to the course to be followed. The meeting was held in the palace of the commune, and, after full discussion, came to the conclusion that the affair was too serious to be determined except by the General Council, before which it was resolved to bring it. Accordingly, on the 27th of March the matter was laid before the Council by one of the counsellors of the *operarius*.*

An animated debate ensued; no voice was raised to advocate the adoption of the proposal to construct a new cathedral, the old one was good and beautiful enough, and it was strongly urged that even the project of extending it should be given up, and that it should not in any wise be touched—"dicta vetus ecclesia nullo modo debeat tangi." But this counsel was not acceptable to those who saw what added majesty would be given to their Duomo by boldly lengthening it over the new baptistery, and a vigorous resolution proposed by Messer Vecchietta degli Accarigi, "that in the name of Almighty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary his mother, the work should be steadily proceeded with, and proceeded with according to the plan on which it had been undertaken," was adopted by a majority of 149 to 73 votes.†

* At this time there was what seems to have been a Board of Works, consisting of the *operarius* and five "consiliarii."

† "Dominus Vecchietta de Accherigiis surgens in dicto consilio, ad dicetorium arengando super dicta proposita, et hiis que et de quibus in

In accordance with this resolve the work was vigorously carried on for a time, but, whether the unfavorable and disheartening opinion of the consulting architects gradually took effect in diminishing the zeal of the people for the undertaking, or whether some other cause operated to the same result, it appears that in the course of a few years the funds for construction fell off, and the building made little or no progress. At last, in 1333, the dissatisfaction at this state of things reached such a point that the *operarius* was urged by many "judicious persons, lovers of the Church"—"bonos et sapientes viros, homines fide dignos, amatores operis majoris ecclesie Senarum" — to complete rapidly the construction of the rough exterior walls of the building, which could be done at comparatively little cost, and to postpone their adornment with a marble facing to a later and more prosperous time. Thus, at least, both the great Duomo and the baptistery might be rendered fit, without much further delay, for the services and ceremonies of the Church. Upon this appeal the *operarius* called several master builders into council, and, having laid the case before them, they unanimously agreed in recommending the adoption of the proposed course.*

Their counsel was followed, and to this day the

ea continentur et mentio fit, dixit et consuluit quod in nomine omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie virginis matris eius, in dicto opere continue procedatur, et procedi debeat prout inceptum est," *Consiglio della Campana*, xcvi. 74. A brief extract from the proceedings may be found in Milanesi, *Documenti*, iii. 275.

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 204.

eastern end of the Duomo, built boldly above the baptistery, and rising high over the narrow valley beneath, remains, like so many of the most splendid churches in Italy, destitute of the marble facing that should have concealed and covered with beauty its rough and ugly wall.

A curious illustration of the character of the times and of the popular feeling towards the church is afforded by a document bearing date in this same year, 1333, by which the *operarius* pledged himself to afford support during their lives to one Master Guccio and his wife, Mina, who had given themselves as "oblates," with all their property, to the church, devoting themselves and their means to the advance of the work. And, besides support during their life, the *operarius* further bound himself to see that the survivor of the two should after death receive honorable sepulture, and that due funeral rites should be performed for him or her, as it might be. Such devotion of one's self and one's property to works for the service of the Lord had not been uncommon during those centuries, in which men and women were actuated by an earnest and sincere faith in the dogmatic teachings of the Church. To any one of lively imagination it was but little to give up the brief present joys of material life, and to offer himself and all that he might possess to the service of Him who had promised to reward his servants with endless and unutterable satisfactions. The fear of suffering for sin—the awful dread of hell

—quickened the readiness to make whatever sacrifices were needed for exemption from penalty. Justification by works was not then strictly divided from justification by faith, and it was honestly believed that to do good deeds and to make sacrifices for the Lord's sake was at least as virtuous as to believe aright and have confidence in the Lord's sacrifice as the atonement for one's own sins. The same spirit that led men to venture life and fortune in the Crusades led them to give themselves to any labor that tended directly to the honor of the Saviour or of the blessed Mother of God." *

The zeal exhibited by Master Guccio and his wife, Mina, was, however, not common in these days. Siena had been growing rich, and as her wealth increased the offerings of her piety seem to have diminished. But although the *operarius* was stinted for the means to carry the building to completion, the cathedral itself still remained an object of prime interest to the Si-

* See Du Cange, *Gloss.* art. "Oblati." The document referred to in the text begins, "Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo tertio, inditione prima, die quinto mensis junii. Certum est quod tu magister Guccius, olim Golli, infrascriptus, pro te ipso, et vice et nomine domine Mine uxoris tue, ad honorem Dei, et beate Marie virginis matris eius, obtulisti te, et donasti titulo donationis inter vivos, mihi Balduccio Contis Ciaccacontis, civi Senensi, operario operis beate Marie virginis de Senis, pro dicto opere stipulanti, unam domum positam Senis in populo Abbatie Arcus . . . et duas domos contiguas positas Senis in populo Sancti Donati, . . . et etiam donasti mihi pro dicto opere stipulanti, omnia bona tua et etiam lucrum tue persone totius tempore vite tue, et si extra domos dicti operis laborares aliquo tempore, lucrum quod inde faceres vel haberes sit et esse debeat operis supradicti." *Arch. di Stato*, Opera Metrop. di Siena, Anno 1333.

enese. It was the custom in Siena, as in many other of the free cities of Italy during the Middle Ages, to make frequent revision of its constitution or codified statutes, for the purpose of modifying them as the changes of time and circumstance might require. The work of revision, which included the codification, or adaptation to the *Statuto*, of such enactments as had been made since the previous revisal and compilation, was usually intrusted to some jurist of repute, often a citizen of another city, or to a number of persons learned in the law. The statute as revised was submitted for examination and discussion to the popular assembly; and, if found acceptable, was adopted by formal vote, thus becoming the fundamental law of the State, and superseding the statute previously in vigor. Since 1260, the date of the earliest existing statute, there had been numerous revisions of this sort. But, whatever the changes in the form of the code, whatever the fluctuations of popular feeling in other matters as expressed by alterations of the fundamental law, the provisions concerning the cathedral always held a foremost place in the statute under which the republic was governed. Thus, in 1334, when, on the recommendation of a commission of thirteen learned men—"tredecim sapientes viros statutarios civitatis Senarum"—certain new enactments were embodied in the statute, there was one among them providing for the better progress of the work on the Duomo.*

* As this ordinance shows the method of procedure proposed for

A few years later, in 1337, a complete revision of the Statutes was made, and the first article of the new Constitution related to "the protection and defence of the greater church of the Blessed Virgin Mary."* It was

the furtherance of the work, and as, I believe, it has never been printed, I give the text in full:

"DE PROVIDENDO QUOMODO IN OPERE SANCTE MARIE MELIUS PROCEDATUR.

"In primis statutum et ordinatum est pro evidenti melioramento operis Sancte Marie et hedificationis maioris ecclesie Senensis: Quod de mense iulii proxime accessuro, postquam electi fuerint operarius, scriptor, et consiliarii novi dicti operis, Domini Novem, qui de dicto mense iulii in offitio residebunt, teneantur et debeant vinculo iuramenti consiliarios dicti operis qui nunc in offitio resident, et etiam alios consiliarios dicti operis novos pro futuris sex mensibus eligendos compellere et compelli facere in simul convenire et super dicto opere diligenter providere quecumque viderint fore utilia, et meliora pro constructione, et melioramento, accelleratione, et evidenti utilitate operis prelibati. Et omnia et singula que dicti consiliarii tam novi quam veteres in simul providebunt, in predictis vel eorum occasione, teneantur et debeant omnino referre offitio dominorum Novem. Ac deinde dictum offitium dominorum Novem, una cum aliis ordinibus civitatis Senarum, et dictis consiliariis veteribus et novis, super dicta materia et relatis per dictos consiliarios, diligenter, sapienter, et bene teneantur et debeant providere. Et quecumque in predictis, et super predictis, deliberaverint et providerint, valeant et teneant et executioni plenarie ac effectualiter demandentur per operarium operis memorati, ac si per generale consilium campane comunis et populi Senarum foret sufficenter et solenniter reformata." *Statuti di Siena*, xviii. c. 383.

* In the records of the *Consiglio della Campana* of the 11th of August, 1337, it appears that the new compilation of the Statutes of Siena being completed by the labor "del sapiente uomo Niccola d' Angelo da Orvieto," it was resolved that it should be examined, emended, and corrected so far as there was occasion. *Cons. dell Camp.* cxxi. 15.

The statute as adopted begins as follows:

"In nomine Dei amen. Incipit prima distinctio constituti comunis Senarum.

"De protectione et defensione maioris ecclesie beate Marie virginis, et episcopatus Senarum, et eorum bonorum et jurium, et quod in opere

still the most important affair of the community, for it was the visible expression of their continued devotion to the Virgin, the protectress of the city, and it was becoming that their statute should begin with provisions that might seem to invoke her favor on the peo-

dicte ecclesie continuo sit unus custos, et unus operarius, et unus scriptor, et sex consiliarii, et de ipsorum consilii officio."

This distinction of the statute also embraced rules for the election of the *operarius*, and for the offerings to be made at the Feast of the Madonna in August. The *operarius* was to be a man "sciens legere et scribere, qui habeat pro suo salario quolibet mense libras quinque denariorum. Et possit dare libere de vino dicti operis servientibus in dicto opere prout eidem videbitur pro melioramento ipsius operis." This last clause gave a final settlement to a long-standing grievance. Thirty years before, in 1308, a petition had been presented to the *Signori Nove*, the magistracy of Siena, and by them referred to the General Council, from the masters and laborers on the cathedral, stating that they were not supplied with wine from the *opera*, and begging, for the love of the Virgin, that the wine coming from the vineyards that had been given to the *opera* for the good of the work might be allowed to them, "for otherwise they must go to drink at the taverns or at their own houses, for they cannot labor all day without drinking, and thus the work suffers great harm, and to save one penny it loses twelve in the time that is wasted by the workmen in going and coming." *Arch. del Duomo, Libro di Documenti Artistici, No.* 1.

Besides the *operarius*, there was to be a good scribe attached to the works, who was to act as secretary to a council of six good men to be chosen, two from each third of the city, without whose consent no new piece of work should be undertaken, and who, in common with the *operarius*, should oversee and provide for all the interests of the building. The scribe—"bonus scriptor"—was also to keep account of all the income and outgo of the works. Timber for the building was to be cut and marble to be quarried, and both were to be brought to the city at the expense of the commune. The *operarius* was to have the right to take stone and marble from any quarry, even against the will of the owner, giving him, however, a receipt for what might be taken which should be available as a claim against the commune.

The provisions of the statute include many other points of detail of more or less interest, but enough has been given to show its general scope. The volume in which it is contained is tomo xxv. (*numerazione antica*) *degli Statuti del Comune di Siena*, in the *Archivio di Stato*.

ple and her all-sufficient aid in the support of their laws and the maintenance of their republic.

But though the desire to propitiate their celestial advocate was still perhaps as strong as ever among the Sienese, yet the spiritual temper of the people had undergone, in common with that of their neighbors in Florence and elsewhere, a great change during the last hundred years. The slowly developed sense of civic community which was the basis of the social order that had gradually risen from the confusion of the Dark Ages had grown into confidence in the continuity of the existence of the community itself. With the development of commercial, social, and political relations, life had become more complex. The increase of power and of wealth had brought luxury. The increase of knowledge and of self-dependence had been accompanied with a decrease in the naïve piety and sincere faith of earlier times. Religion was becoming more formal—more a matter of outward observance and less of interior conviction. Manners were less simple than of old. The picture that Cacciaguida draws of the Florence *sobria e pudica* of his own time, as contrasted with the splendid and dissolute Florence of Boccaccio's stories, illustrates the general change in the spirit of the people in the cities of Italy.

The arts showed their sympathy with this change. Architecture lost power in original and imaginative expression. It fell off in the essential qualities of manly and thoughtful building. The tendency of the

Italian architects to sacrifice the principles of good construction to picturesque effects became more and more pronounced. Sculpture and painting made rapid progress in skill and ease of mechanical execution, and were more and more employed to minister to the growing taste for domestic magnificence and personal display, though not yet reduced, as in later times, to mere household menials. While they gained in science and in productiveness, they lost in dignity of motive and truth of sentiment. They gained a new perfection of grace, a fresh variety of fancy, and a wider range of expression, but they lost in depth of imagination and serious meaning.

Siena felt the full force of these currents of change. She had grown in size and power; she had, on the whole, in the long course of years, been prosperous; her wealth had increased, and her people, even in early days inclined to display, now fell easily into lavish modes of living. The seed of luxury readily took root in her soil,

"Nell' orto dove tal seme s' appicca."

The stories of the extravagance of the rich Sienese youth have a touch of Oriental excess. After more than five hundred years, the tradition of the brilliant, festive life of the reckless spendthrifts who got the name of the *brigata spendereccia* still holds its place in the popular memory, and still serves as an illustration of the prodigal spirit of the whole town.*

* See *Inferno*, canto xxix. 121–132, and Buti's comment upon the verses.

Siena had never prospered more steadily, had never been gayer, had never brought more important works to conclusion, than in the years between 1320 and 1340. She had completed her magnificent public palace for the magistracy of the State; her great citizens were building new and more splendid palaces than the old for their own habitation; she was bringing in fresh supplies of water and erecting new fountains; she was strengthening and extending her walls and opening new gates. A census taken in 1328 showed that her population had largely increased during the last generation,* and her numbers gave her reliance on her strength and on her capacity to accomplish whatever she might resolve.

The languid progress and the incomplete condition of the works on the cathedral, the chief building of the city, were far from satisfactory to a people in this temper of mind. The adverse judgment of the architects who had been called upon for counsel in regard to the extension of the Duomo over the new Church of St. John, though disregarded, had not been forgotten; and the advice, which at the time had been little heeded, was now recalled, that a new Duomo, "pulcra, magnia et magnifica, cum omnibus fulgidis ornamentis," should be erected in honor of Our Lord and his most holy Mother. The old Duomo had, indeed, been good

* The number of heads of families was 11,711. Under the head of a great family would be reckoned a very large number of more or less closely connected retainers.

enough for the old Siena; but a new generation had arisen with larger thoughts, and new Siena required a new, a greater, a more splendid church. Such was the conviction of a large party in the city; but there were others who held to the old ways, and to whom the old church, with its century of memories and sacred associations, was dear, who urged that to attempt to build a more magnificent cathedral would be but to waste the means and energy of the commune in an undertaking not merely needless, but objectionable. At length a plan was proposed fitted to conciliate alike those who desired a new Duomo and those who would maintain the old. The design was of surprising and admirable boldness. It was no less than to change the whole lay of the cathedral, and, adopting the existing edifice as a transept for a new church, to erect a nave, aisles, and choir of proportionate dimensions. The building that had so long been the pride of Siena would thus be preserved in its integrity, and all past labor upon it would inure to the benefit of the new and vastly grander edifice. This design, if carried out, would give to Siena far the most magnificent and glorious cathedral in Italy, a building for which the revenues of a kingdom would hardly suffice, but which Siena, rich in resource and in money, proud, ambitious, devout, trustful in herself and her future, felt able to construct without misgiving or exhaustion. The project was brought before the Council of the Bell on the 23d of August, 1339, and before the popular assembly

broke up that afternoon it was resolved, by 212 votes against 132, that "a new nave should be built" according to the plan proposed, provided, however, that the work now in progress be proceeded with diligently.*

The resolve having been taken, there was no delay in making the necessary preparations for carrying it out. The ground on which it was proposed to build the new nave was thickly covered with houses, and the records of the Duomo show that the *operarius* at once set to work to purchase house after house,† or to exchange for a house in this region some house belonging to the *opera* in another part of the city.‡ The nuns of the Hospital of Mona Agnese "out of their piety" concede three of their houses as a gift to the work, and promise to sell two more.§ Before the end of the year, almost all the land that was needed seems to have been secured. A still more important step had been taken in the sending by the commune to Naples to induce Master Lando di Pietro to return to Siena to take the place of superintendent of the public works of the commune, and especially of the cathedral. Lando was a native of Siena, a man of varied accomplish-

* "Navis dicte ecclesie de novo fiat, et extendatur longitudo dicte navis per planum sancte Marie versus plateam Manettorum, seu plateam que Manettorum dicitur, sicut et quomodo designatum est . . . dummodo in opere novo dicte ecclesie jam incepto nichilominus sollicite et continue procedatur, tantum quantum et prout requiritur ad proportionem operis dicte navis." *Cons. della Campana*, cxxv. 18. Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 226. The "opus jam inceptum" was probably the work on the extension of the Duomo over the baptistery.

† *Arch. del Duomo.* Perg. 766, 768, 769, 771, 778, 779, 781, 790, 792, 796.

‡ *Id.* Perg. 775, 776.

§ *Id.* Perg. 780, 784.

ment — goldsmith, mechanician, architect, engineer — and now of wide repute, so that his services were sought in many quarters in Italy. When the proposal for recalling him from Naples was introduced into the council, he was described as a man of highest worth, of great ingenuity and invention, not only in his own art of goldsmithery, but in many other arts besides, and as well in what relates to the building of churches as to the construction of palaces, houses, streets, bridges, and fountains; and it was urged that it would be greatly to the advantage of the commune that a man of such excellence should not remain absent and distant from Siena, but that he should dwell always in the city, in order to give his counsel and aid in respect to all public works, and especially to the new construction of the cathedral.*

There is, unfortunately, no evidence to show whether the design on which the new edifice was begun was due to Master Lando, or whether it was the work

* "Quod cum notorium sit, et certum in civitate Senarum, quod providus vir magister Landus aurifex, est homo legalissimus, et non solum in arte sua predicta, sed in multis aliis preter dictam suam artem, est homo magne subtilitatis et adinventionis, tam his que spectant ad edificationes palatiorum et domorum comunis, et viarum et pontium et fontium, et aliorum operum comunis Senensis; et ipse magister Landus moram seu habitationem contrahat ad presens in civitate Neapolitana, ut ibidem suum honorem augeat et profectum; et convenientius et utilius esset pro comuni Senarum quod homo tante bonitatis non absens et longinquus a civitate Senarum, sed potius in ipsa civitate continue permaneret, ut suum consilium et iuvamen impenderet tam operibus fiendis in majori ecclesia Senensi quam comuni Senarum in omnibus aliis supradictis." *Cons. della Campana*, cxxv. 54. Milanesi, *Documenti*, i, 228.

of the genius of some nameless architect. Whoever was its author, he was a consummate master of noble and exquisite design, full of imagination in its general conception, full of fancy in detail, of grandest and most picturesque effect. The Italian architects, even when without other merit, have usually shown a pre-eminent sense of the value of just proportions, and of harmony in the relation of parts to each other and to the whole building; and in this respect the design for the new Duomo was of surpassing merit. Had the work been completed according to the plan, it would have been not only the most picturesque, but the most dignified and beautiful, of the cathedrals of Italy.

Master Lando seems to have accepted at once the proposal of the republic, and before the end of the year 1339 he had entered on the duties of his office. The preparations for the beginning of the work were actively completed, and on the 2d of February, in the winter of 1339–40, the first stone of the new building was laid with great solemnity, with religious services and civic festivities.*

The work was hardly fairly begun before a heavy calamity fell on the city. One of the violent epidemics to which the people in the close towns of the Middle Ages were constantly exposed raged for some months,

* The following entry in the accounts of the *operajo* probably belongs to this date: "Anco ij. lib. x. sol., e quali si spesero in carne e in pane, e in vino che si mandò a' preti di Duomo perche venero a diciare l' ufficio quando si fondò la prima pietra nel fondamento de la facciata nuova del Duomo."

making Siena mourn for many of her chief citizens, among them for Master Lando himself, whom at this moment she could ill spare. To the pestilence succeeded famine, the result of the interruption caused by the epidemic in the regular course of industry and traffic. The fields had been left untilled, and the harvest failed. The magistracy, called that of Abundance, sent to Sicily, to France, and to Spain for cargoes of grain; but, owing to many disasters and delays, the supplies were late in reaching Siena, and but scanty after all; and though more than forty thousand golden florins were spent from the public treasury to relieve their misery, the common people suffered terribly.*

This year there can have been little spirit and small means for pushing on the works at the Duomo. But the recovery from the losses and depression of these successive calamities was rapid. The prosperity of the city had been checked but for a moment. In a year or two the people had recovered spirit, and, feeling themselves once more rich and flourishing, engaged with fresh ardor in carrying forward old and new works for the service or adornment of their town. In 1343 water was introduced through long underground channels to the fountain in the Campo, known ever since as the Fonte Gaia—the Glad Fountain—from the rejoicings and gladness of the people, as the clear stream flowed abundantly into the square which was the chief stage of the public life of the city. Two years later the

* *Cronica Sanese di Agnolo di Tura.* Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xv.

great bell-tower on the same piazza, the tower of the Palace of the Republic, was completed. The new walls of the cathedral were rising rapidly. There were vast activity and productiveness in all the arts. And while the town was thus beautifying herself within, she was extending her dominion and exercising jurisdiction over wider territory than had ever before been subject to her rule. Siena had never, to outward seeming, been so strong, so flourishing, so full of confidence in herself as now. She had reached the acme of her splendor and the crisis of her story.

With increase of wealth and strength had come increase of luxury and wantonness. The sources of civic virtue and of public spirit were beginning to run low. Men were less honest, women less modest, than of old. The people were more than ever *gente vana.* The new generation was growing up less hardy, more passionate and lustful, than the old had been. The laws became ineffectual to restrain men who no longer reverenced justice. In 1341 one of the annalists makes entry, "Many homicides committed in Siena." The ferocity displayed by all classes in their feuds and vengeances was revolting. Revenge and wrath knew no mercy. Men taken by their enemies were tortured to the point of death, but revived to be tortured again, and killed at last with every refinement of savage cruelty. There is no redeeming trait of romance or generosity in these bloody records. At last affairs became so bad that the council, finding that no check could be put on the

cruel and violent practices of the time, passed an ordinance to the effect that at the Feast of the Assumption, at Christmas, and during Holy Week there should be truce among all those involved in feuds, that they might go to their devotions with more quiet minds. At all other seasons men carried their lives in their hands, for the assassin might lurk at any corner, the avenger of real or fancied wrong might interrupt the gayety of any feast with "the furious close of civil butchery."

Siena was, in truth, not alone, nor even pre-eminent, in wickedness among Italian cities. She shared in the general corruption of Italy. The *Decameron* affords a picture of a society without convictions, honor, or purity: selfish, violent, and timid; and yet in depicting this society Boccaccio omitted many of the darkest traits.

But a day of reckoning was at hand. Nowhere was a heavier penalty exacted than at Siena. In her height of pride, she was struck down by a blow from which she never recovered.

The summer of 1347 had been very sickly. At some of the Tuscan ports, especially at Pisa, a violent, apparently contagious, disease—brought, it was believed, on some infected vessel from the East—had raged during the hot weather, ceasing only with the coming of winter. The next spring it broke out afresh. It spread through Italy. The plague of 1348 was the most fatal epidemic on record. Many accounts of it from eye-witnesses have come down to us. The Sienese chronicler Agnolo di Tura gives a brief narrative concern-

ing it, which renders all other narrative superfluous: "At this time," he says, "the great mortality began in Siena, greater, gloomier, more terrible than could ever be told or imagined, and so it lasted till October. It was so severe that men and women died of it all of a sudden. The groin and the armpit became swollen, and suddenly, while they were talking, men died. The father scarcely stayed to watch his child; one brother fled from another; the wife deserted her husband, because it was said that this disease was caught by looking, and from the breath. And so it was, in truth, for so many people died in the months of May and June, and July and August, that no one could be found who would bury them for hire. Neither relation nor friend nor priest nor friar went with them to the grave, nor was the service said. But he to whom the dead belonged, as soon as the breath was out, took up the body, whether by day or night, and with the help of two or three carried it to the church; and then they themselves buried it as best they could, covering it with a little earth, that dogs might not devour it. And in many places in the city enormous trenches were made, and bodies were thrown into them and covered with a little earth, and then other bodies were put in and covered in turn, and so on, layer by layer, till the trench was full. And I, Agniolo di Tura, called Grasso, buried five of my children in one trench with my own hands, and many others did the like. The bells were not rung, no mourning was made for any one, grievous

as the loss of him might be, for almost every one was expecting death, and things went in such fashion that people did not believe that any one would be left; and many men believed and said, 'This is the end of the world.' Neither physician nor physic availed aught, nor was any precaution of use; but rather it seemed that the more care one took, the sooner he died. And, in truth, the mortality was so dark* and great and horrible that no pen could describe it. And it was ascertained that in this time there died in Siena more than eighty thousand persons."

Such was the plague at Siena. Agnolo di Tura goes on to relate some of its immediate effects. "The people who had escaped from the plague were all glad, and thought of nothing but rejoicing, and took no heed of what they spent or how they played; for every man felt himself to be rich, seeing that he had escaped from such a pestilence. And all who remained alive were as brothers, greeting each other and jesting with each other as though they had been relations. And they paid no regard to aught but enjoyment and feasting; for to each man it seemed as that he had regained the world, and it appeared as if no one could settle down to do anything."†

It was long before the usual course of life renewed itself in the desolated city, long before the survivors

* Oscura—"the black death."

† *Cronica Sanese di Andrea Dei continuata da Agnolo di Tura, dall' Anno* 1186 *fino al* 1352. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xv. col. 123.

became accustomed to the changed conditions in which they found themselves. The confusion not only of affairs, but of relations between men, resulting from the sudden, indiscriminate sweeping-away of two thirds or three quarters of the population of a close, compact city, can hardly be too strongly depicted. For a time all the common order of society was broken up. In Siena one hundred noble families had become extinct. In many cases no heirs were left for estates and property. Men without claim took possession of houses and goods, their right to which no one was left to dispute. Half the city was vacant and falling to ruin. It seemed, says one of the chroniclers, as if nobody were left in Siena. The condition of the city would have been even worse had her enemies not suffered from the same calamity. All Tuscany was half depopulated. On all sides there were bewilderment and expectancy. Events must be left to take their own course; men could not all at once understand the position in which they actually stood; they must learn it by waiting for experience. In 1350, the second year after the plague, the city, says Malavolti, "was still afflicted by the late pestilence, and I do not find that it did anything worthy of memory for public service or advantage."* Nor was anything of this sort done the next year, or the next. Siena did not recover from the blow that had stricken her down. By degrees, however, men grew familiar with the new aspect of things; life began to

* *Historia*, parte ii. lib. vi. p. 108, b.

run in its old channels, trade sprang up, but the spirit of the city had been broken, and public affairs went from bad to worse.

This was no period for the carrying-on of great public works. The plague had not only swept off the master workmen from the Duomo, but it had dried up many of the sources of supply for the construction of the new building. Still more than this, it had so reduced the numbers of the people that even the old cathedral might well seem too great for the needs of the shrunken city. The new design had been adopted by a light-hearted people, prosperous and confident of the future; it was far too vast and superb to be executed by a people hardly a third as numerous as that which had undertaken the work—a people, moreover, depressed in spirit, distracted by internal confusion, and humiliated to the point of submission to unworthy enemies.

The records of the year of the plague, and of those immediately succeeding, are very scanty. In 1348, and the two next years, the *operajo* bought, at a low price, a few houses which probably occupied a part of the ground required for the new building.* The means for the purchase were drawn from the offerings at the church during the fatal season, in which the votive gifts extorted from terror had been of no avail to obtain immunity from what was conceived to be the stroke of Divine wrath. No progress of importance was made in the works, and in 1353 the *operajo* presented a suppli-

* *Archivio del Duomo,* Perg. 833, 842, 847.

cation to the magistracy, setting forth that for five years past the customary subsidy from the commune had not been paid, and begging that the payment should be renewed. The council, moved by piety, and by desire that the work should not come to a stop, granted his request.*

But the end was near, and the fate of the new building was to correspond with that of Siena herself. The finest design of the architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy was not to be brought to perfection. After a year or two in which the records of the building are a blank, they recommence in 1356 with a series of documents of deplorable significance. Defects had become visible in the construction of the new cathedral. Whether it was that Lando had left no successor able to carry forward the great and difficult project, or whether the plan had been in itself too bold, or whether during the wretched years that followed his death the masonry of the building had been carelessly and slightingly performed, cannot be told. But the defects that now declared themselves were sufficient to awaken the anxiety of the *operajo* and his counsellors, and they summoned, from Florence and elsewhere, skilled masters to examine the work and give advice concerning it. From the opinion given by one of them, Benci di Cione, of Florence, it appears that four columns had shown such

* *Consiglio della Campana,* tomo clv. p. 28. It appears that previously five hundred and fifty lire had been paid annually from the public treasury for the benefit of the work. *Archivio del Duomo,* Perg. 808, Anno 1343. See Appendix I. Document IX.

weakness that the vaulting arches and the walls that rested upon them had become insecure, and that there was no mode by which the harm could be satisfactorily repaired. In his judgment, the best course would be to take down walls, arches, and columns.* The opinions of the other architects who were consulted have not been preserved, but there is no reason to suppose that they were of a different tenor.

Such a misfortune as this would have been enough to discourage a community even less burdened with calamity than that of Siena. It compelled the magistrates and the people to new deliberations, and the conviction at last forced itself home upon them that they must give up the hope of completing the work, begun less than twenty years before under conditions so different from those under which the city now lay. The *capomaestro* of the *opera*, Domenico d' Agostino, and Master Niccolò di Cecco, who had long been employed upon it, were now called on to give their judgment. It was briefly to the effect that, considering all that must be destroyed of the old church if the new one were constructed as had been proposed, and that the work to be destroyed could not be rebuilt at a less cost than one hundred and fifty thousand florins of gold, and believing that with the present income of the *opera* the new church could not be completed in a hundred years, it were the wiser counsel that the old Duomo be left standing as it then stood; and that the prolongation

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 249.

of the choir over the new baptistery, or Church of St. John, begun so many years before, but the progress of which had been interrupted by the works on the new Duomo, should now be carried forward to its end. This work could be accomplished, they thought, within five years, and the city would then possess a cathedral and a baptistery sufficient for its needs, if not for its ancient pride.*

The tenor of this counsel harmonized with the fallen fortunes and depressed spirit of the republic. But, though no other course than to adopt this recommendation seemed feasible, it was not resolved upon without further deliberation. A committee of twelve citizens was appointed by the magistrates to consult and report upon the subject. Their conclusion was unanimous and decisive. They reported that, having carefully inspected the work of the new church, and having consulted the best master builders, both of Siena and from abroad, they had found that the walls of the new church were defective and not strong enough to support the necessary building upon them; that they were even already threatening to fall; wherefore it was recommended that all the interior walls and vaults and other portions of the church be demolished as speedily as possible, and nothing of it left standing but the outer walls. This report was made in the month of June, 1357. It appears to have been at once adopted, and immediately acted upon by the governors of the repub-

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 251.

lic.* Each stone thrown down from the marble walls might have served as a slab on which to inscribe the lost hopes of Siena, to commemorate her former glory, to record her fall.

And here with the resolve to demolish the interior of the new building, and to leave only the outer walls standing, the story of the Duomo at Siena as a great civic work—a work in which the hearts and energies of the people were engaged—comes to an end. From this time forward the Sienese contented themselves with their old Duomo, leaving the bare but magnificent walls of their later design to stand as the splendid sepulchral monument of the past glory and greatness of the State, of the largeness of its spirit, and the abundance of its resources. Thus these walls still stand, more impressive to the imagination than if they belonged to a completed building, the stateliest memorial of disappointment in the land of noble designs left incomplete. Had Siena not been stricken down, and had she retained spirit to complete the new cathedral as it was begun, it would have been the most magnificent building of its sort in Italy, and one of the noblest cathedrals in all Europe. The existing portions of it show the Gothic harmonized with the Italian spirit in admirable accord, the one not losing its energy nor the other its grace, but both so interfused and united that the charm and power of each commingle in rare fulness of effect. Exquisite in its colossal proportions, in division of its

* Milanesi, *Documenti*, i. 254.

spaces, and exquisite also in its decoration, in which something of the refined elegance of the best work of the Renaissance is already visible, the fragments of the incomplete edifice are not only more interesting, but more beautiful, than the completed structure to which it forms the most picturesque and striking of forecourts.

There is no need to trace the further history of the Duomo in detail; for the building no longer has interest as the expression of the will of a people full of vigor, conscious of a common life, and capable of sustained exertions and abiding passions.

The very next record that I have noted is, indeed, curiously expressive of the change that had come over the Sienese since the day of the victory of Montaperti a century before. In 1363 a dreaded band of free lances, called the Company del Capelletto, ravaged the territory of Siena, burning and devastating far and wide, till finally, seizing on the stronghold of Campagnatico, it threatened to establish itself there as a headquarters whence to make forays so long as anything was left in the territory to plunder. The Sienese, so low had they sunk, sent envoys to the captain of the band to offer him a large sum of money if he would take his troop elsewhere, but the offer was refused. Driven to despair, Siena then began to get together a troop of mercenaries, mostly Germans, in order to try to drive out the freebooters by show of force. The command was given to Messer Francesco Orsino, of Rome, or, as he is called, M. Francesco di M. Giordano de' figlioli d' Orso,

and his orders were on no account to join battle with the company of marauders, for fear of defeat and of exposing the city to danger. Messer Francesco, however, taking advantage of a favorable opportunity, disobeyed his orders, attacked the band, routed it with great slaughter, made its captain prisoner, and returned to Siena triumphantly, having delivered the city from a great fear. For his victory Francesco was rewarded, but for his disobedience he was removed from command. A day or two afterwards the ruling magistrates of the city, *li Signori Dodici*, had a solemn mass celebrated at the Duomo, to return thanks for the victory, and great offerings were made by the commune and by private citizens.* Further than this, at their next meeting the council voted that a chapel should be erected in the Duomo, at the expense of the republic, in honor of St. Paul, with a painting to commemorate the victory obtained over the Company del Capelletto.† The altar-piece has perished, but on the wall of the Sala delle Balestre, in the Palace of the Republic, a picture of the battle may still be seen, which the magistrates had painted in honor of the victory won for Siena by mercenary arms.

The change which the spirit and temper of the people had undergone in the course of a hundred years was no ordinary alteration. The people seem no longer

* *Cronache di Neri di Donato.* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. xv. col. 179–180.

† *Consiglio della Campana,* clxxvi. 57.

the same in blood, and the contrast between the glory of the victory of Montaperti and the shame of such a chance defeat of a loose band of marauders, serves to measure their degeneracy.

In the course of years Siena recovered some degree of prosperity and strength, but she never regained her ancient power or her former vigor. The old Duomo and the Church of St. John were in a few years completed according to the resolve taken in 1357, and thenceforward such interest as the citizens continued to feel in the building was expressed in works of finish or adornment. The vaults of the cathedral were painted, its windows were filled with painted glass, a pavement of inlaid marble of various design was laid down,* alterations were made in the façade, and from

* This pavement, which has ever since been one of the boasts of Siena, was begun, according to Milanesi (*Documenti*, i. 176), about 1369. Vasari was in error in ascribing the first designs for it to Duccio. It is a work in which the talents of the artist and the materials employed are alike perverted to the least appropriate uses; but it is much admired by persons who like to be amused with the ingenious artifices of misapplied skill. "C'est certainement," says M. Labarte, "ce qui a été fait de plus beau en ce genre." From time to time during the last five hundred years the pavement has been renewed, and during the sixteenth century an artist of considerable but exaggerated repute, Domenico Beccafumi, gave designs for the floor of the choir, which surpassed in their kind all that had been seen before. The merit of this sort of work as pavement is shown by the fact that for ten or eleven months out of twelve it is carefully protected by a covering of planks.

Details concerning the designs of the pavement, and the artists employed on it at different periods, may be found in Vasari's Life of Beccafumi; in Milanesi, *Documenti* (see Index, iii. p. 414. *Siena, Duomo, Spazzo*); in Labarte's *Histoire des Arts Industriels au Moyen-Âge*, tome iv. p. 305; and in all the local guide-books.

time to time many an ornament was added, and many a change in minor features was made both within and without.

Through the next two centuries the most noted artists of Siena, and many from abroad, were employed to enrich it with their works, till it became the treasure-house that it still remains of the decorative arts of the most brilliant period of Italian culture.*

Work on such a building never ceases. Each new generation, with its new fancies, finds something to add or to alter. Time does its work of waste, and years bring constant need of repair and restoration. Siena had her share in the revival of old arts and letters, and in the birth of modern culture and sentiment; and the Renaissance left a deep mark on the Duomo in works sharply contrasted with those of an earlier age, not only in quality of design and execution, but in the motive of their construction. They are mostly monuments of the pride and wealth of special families or individuals, and no longer serve as expressions of the spirit and devotion of the whole community.

The history of the Duomo had ceased to be that of Siena. The sentiment of corporate unity, of common interests in the bonds of a common civic life and a common religious faith, had been strong enough, in spite of civil discord and party divisions, to secure the

* See, for an account of some of these works, "L'Église Cathédrale de Sienne et son Trésor, d'après un Inventaire de 1467, traduit et annoté par Jules Labarte," in the *Annales Archéologiques*, tome xxv.

independence of the community, and to inspire it with magnanimous designs. But this sentiment gave way before the development of rationalism and of individualism. Men grew indifferent alike to the claims of religion and of the community. Their emotions were brought more and more under the control of reason, and their energies, which, united in effort towards a common end, had once rolled as a vast stream in a deep, however narrow, channel, were now dispersed in slender and widely separated currents.

The Duomo, that had been the expression and witness of the strong forces of the life of the community of Siena, became the evidence of their decay. To the imagination, even to the eye, of the lover of the past, Siena exists only in the works and deeds of her early time. Her cathedral and her palace are monuments over the grave of the passions, hopes, and faith of generations that were capable of efforts beyond the mark of modern times.

# IV

# FLORENCE AND ST. MARY OF THE FLOWER

## IV.

### *FLORENCE, AND ST. MARY OF THE FLOWER.*

#### I. THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH.

"Never was our city," says Machiavelli, speaking of Florence as she was at the close of the thirteenth century—"never was our city in a greater or happier condition than at this time, being full of men, of riches, and of renown. Her citizens capable of bearing arms numbered thirty thousand, and those of her territory seventy thousand. All Tuscany, partly as subject to her, partly as friendly to her, obeyed her."* Nowhere in Italy was trade more flourishing, or the arts more zealously cultivated. Her citizens, however divided by party discords, were united in a common pride in their city. The fame of her strength and her beauty was wide-spread; "so that many," says a chronicler of the time, "come to see her, not of necessity, or because of the excellence of her trades and arts, but because of her beauty and adornment." Yet this beauty and adornment had been wrought out for her in spite of internal contention and division. Peace seldom dwelt within her walls. The eager and hasty temper of her

* *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. ii. § 15.

citizens was quickly kindled into passionate outbreaks and tumultuous uproar, in which civil order was for the time broken up, and the very existence of the State seemed to be at stake.

The thirteenth century had been a long struggle between the feudal and civic nobility and the mass of the common people, in which the *grandi* had for the most part gained the upperhand. Through the intricate record of a hundred years one may trace the baffled but persistent effort of the compact and industrious democracy to achieve such a combination of their forces as to enable them to get the better of their aristocratic oppressors. The rule of an unscrupulous, quarrelsome, and tyrannical privileged class was incompatible with the institutions requisite for the prosperity of the industrious community. Gradually a form of organization was worked out by the trades, resembling that of the guilds of Northern cities, but more political in its character, which, in spite of various checks and numerous futile endeavors, at length, towards the end of the century, succeeded in mastering the old nobility and in establishing itself as the chief power in the government of the city. This result was reached in 1292.

The opening clauses of the Ordinances of Justice, by which the new order of the State was regulated, indicate the spirit of those by whom this revolution had been accomplished: "Whereas justice is a steady and constant will that gives to each man his rights, there-

fore the following ordinances, properly called the Ordinances of Justice, are ordained for the benefit of the republic," to the end of establishing "true and perpetual concord and unity, and of securing peace and tranquillity for the artificers and arts, and for all the people of Florence."*

The political administration was concentrated in the *arti*, or organized trades of the city. These comprised twelve *arti maggiori*, or chief trades, and nine *arti minori*, or lesser trades: under the banner of one or the other of these trades the mass of the citizens was enrolled.†

* The *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* are to be found in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. II. tomo i. pp. 1–93, Firenze, 1855; and also in Emiliani-Giudici, *Storia dei Comuni Italiani*, tomo iii. pp. 5–147, Firenze, 1866. They are remarkable for the display of the political sense and vigorous resolve of their framers.

† The division of the industrial population of Florence into "arts" appears first near the end of the twelfth century; but it was not till 1266, at the time of the political revolution consequent on the defeat and death of Manfred, that the arts were organized as civil and political corporations. At that time there were seven chief arts, of which Villani (lib. vii. cap. xiii.) gives the list as follows: 1, lawyers and notaries; 2, merchants of *calimala*, that is, of French cloths; 3, bankers; 4, woolmerchants; 5, physicians and druggists; 6, silk manufacturers and dealers; 7, furriers. To these were added in 1282 (Villani, lib. vii. cap. lxxix.) five more, as follows: 8, retail dealers; 9, butchers; 10, shoemakers; 11, master carpenters and masons; 12, smiths. In 1292 the *Ordinamenti di Giustizia* adds to the enumeration of the twelve chief arts nine lesser arts, as follows: 13, vintners; 14, innkeepers; 15, dealers in salt, oil, and cheese; 16, leather-dressers; 17, armorers; 18, locksmiths and dealers in old and new iron; 19, saddlers and shield and corslet makers; 20, joiners; 21, bakers. This order of the arts was preserved essentially the same during the existence of Florence as a republic. Compare Goro Dati (in Napier's *Hist. of Florence*, ii. 101), about 1380; and Machiavelli, *Ist. Fiorentine*, lib. ii. § viii., and Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. iii. § 21. "All the citizens of Florence," says

Florence, like other Italian cities, was accustomed annually to call upon some personage from a remote but allied city to exercise the functions of Podestà, or chief executive officer, within her limits; but all the other magistrates of the commonwealth were to be chosen from the members of the twelve chief Arts. The *grandi*, or nobles, were expressly excluded from office. Each of the Arts had its own officers, and each was required to maintain a military organization for the support of order and the defence of the city. Each of them had its written statute, by which its members were governed, while provision was made that the various statutes should be in harmony one with the other so far as the common interest required. It was the object of these statutes to secure at once the good order of the city and the prosperity of the trades.

The provisions of these codes, so far as judgment may be formed from the only one of them which has come down to us—the Statute of the Art of Calimala, or of foreign cloth merchants—indicate the sound political sense of the Florentine tradesmen, and their full under-

Varchi, "were obliged to enroll themselves in one of the twenty-one Arts; that is, no one could be a burgher of Florence unless he or his ancestors had been approved and matriculated in one of these arts, whether he practised it or not. Without proof of matriculation he could not be drawn for any office or exercise any magistracy." An interesting account of the character and political influence of the arts is given by Von Reumont in his *Lorenzo de' Medici*, Band i. p. 18 seq., Leipsig, 1874; and a notice of the devices on their banners (mainly from Villani, lib. vii. cap. xiii.), and other particulars of interest concerning them, in the same author's earlier and very useful work, *Tavole Cronologiche e Sincrone della Storia Fiorentina*, Firenze, 1841, Introduzione, p. 11, n. 3.

standing that permanent commercial prosperity depends upon moral conditions; first of all, upon the uprightness and integrity of the individual tradesman. Every precaution is taken to secure fair dealing, and to maintain firm credit. Heavy penalties are enacted against fraud, perjury, misrepresentation, and unfair competition. It is required of the merchants "to use pure, loyal, and simple truth" in all their dealings. There is a stamp of piety and uprightness on the whole statute. The provisions in respect to the method in which accounts were to be kept, to the terms of credit, to bankruptcy and the recovery of debts, to usury and prices, are ample, careful, and minute. In the trade of Florence there was nothing of the looseness of modern competitive dealings; nothing of the spirit that seeks gain at any cost, even that of truth and honesty; nothing of the disposition to make undue profit, and to reckon every trick fair in trade. There was a standard of commercial morality as exact as that to which the weights and measures of the shops were made to conform. Florence was resolved that her credit should be good, and that neither rival nor enemy should have a right to reproach her with slackness in the fulfilment either of public or of private obligations. The four consuls who were chosen to rule each of the Arts, holding office for six months, were to be selected from "the best and most useful merchants;" and they were to be "Guelfs and lovers of the Holy Roman Church, and in their choice no cavalier was to take part." It was from these consuls of

the trades that the priors of the city were chosen, and neither Ghibelline nor noble was to have part in the government of the State.

The Arts thus combined and organized could control the most powerful and lawless of the great, and for some years Florence experienced the benefit of the new order of affairs in an unwonted sense of security and a rapid increase of prosperity. The strength that lies in union and concord inspired her with confidence in herself, and she made a splendid display of the great qualities and designs of her trading and industrious democracy. The citizens of a compact walled town, having no regular or general communication with the distant outside world; occupied with few interests but those of their households, their shops, and their city; engaged in pursuits that kept them close within the narrow circuit of their native streets, were naturally filled with a spirit of local attachment little short of devotion, and this spirit was the source of great undertakings, in which their religion, their pride, and their patriotism might find expression. The Arts, each a little commonwealth in itself, served to quicken and intensify the public spirit; to bring home to their members the sense of common interests and duties; and to maintain a standard of principle and of action to which each member was compelled to conform, by the strong pressure of a concentrated public opinion.

Seldom has a nobler activity or a more abundant productiveness been displayed than Florence exhibited

at this period. The quick wit, the lively fancy, and the poetic imagination of her people were aroused. Her poets drew inspiration from her, and gave it back through their verses for the quickening of the hearts of her people. They were the most noted in Italy, even before Dante lifted Florence to the topmost peak of fame, and Dante was now already meditating his divine poem. Her painters had broken the bonds of tradition which had long restrained their progress, and Cimabue held the field against all rivals. Her architects and builders were showing themselves masters in their art, and the number of great works of building, many of which are still among the chief ornaments of the city, begun in the ten years between 1290 and 1300 indicates alike the ability of the architects and the energy and abundant resources of the community. During these years the churches of Santa Maria Novella and of the Carmine, as well as the *loggia* of Or' San Michele, were in process of construction; the foundations of the churches of Santo Spirito, of San Marco, of Santa Maria in Cafaggio (now known as the Annunziata), of Santa Croce, together with its vast convent, were all laid; and the building of the Palace of the Priors and of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew was begun. Nor does this complete the list. The thriving city was extending her limits, and building a new circuit of walls with towers for the common defence, erected in part out of materials obtained by the demolition of some of the tall and massive towers which had

served as the dens and strongholds of those *grandi* whose lawless power she was engaged in repressing.*

But besides all these works, she set about what was to prove a much more important undertaking. The old church of Santa Reparata, that had long served as her Duomo,† stood in need of repair, and on the 11th of September, 1294, an appropriation from the public treasury of four hundred lire was voted for this purpose. On the 2d of December of the same year a similar appropriation was made, with a slight but significant change in terms—for the church "the repairing and *renewal* of which are now in progress."‡

No more definite information than this remains concerning the beginning of the work of construction of that new cathedral which was destined to become the most characteristic and impressive edifice in Florence, and to employ her chief artists for the next two hundred years. But there is an apocryphal decree, the invention probably of the sixteenth century, in which its author expressed what he not unfitly conceived to have been the spirit and intent of the earlier time.§ As

* See Moise, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, Firenze, 1845, pp. 51, 52, and Reumont, *Tavole Cronologiche*, for these years.

† The first authentic mention of the Church of Santa Reparata is in 724.

‡ Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti, dei Secoli XIV. XV. XVI.*, Firenze, 1839, tomo i. pp. 425, 427. Every student of the history of Italian art finds himself under obligations to this invaluable collection of documents.

§ The desire of communities and of individuals to perpetuate their fame by monumental buildings is one of the most characteristic features of Italian culture. Nowhere was it stronger than in Florence. Burckhardt, in his *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1868,

reported, the decree runs thus: "Whereas it is the highest concern of a people of illustrious origin so to proceed in their affairs that men may perceive from their works that their designs are at once wise and magnanimous, it is therefore ordered that Arnolfo, architect of our commune, prepare the model or plan for the rebuilding of Santa Reparata with such supreme and lavish magnificence that neither the industry nor the capacity of man shall be able to devise anything more grand or more beautiful; inasmuch as the most judicious in this city have declared and advised in public and private conferences that no work of the commune should be undertaken unless the design be to make it correspondent with a heart which is of the greatest nature, because composed of the spirit of many citizens concordant in one single will."*

Although the words of this decree cannot be trusted, there is evidence that the Florentines soon gave up the thought of repairing the old church, and resolved to reconstruct and enlarge it, so as to have a Duomo of size capable of accommodating the increasing crowds of worshippers, and in its design worthy of the wealth and spirit of the city. To such a work the Florentines were especially called as the head of the Guelf party, a party

an important supplement to his admirable, more widely known work *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, has collected many instances of this disposition; see, especially, Buch I. Kap. I. § 2.

* This decree was first published by Del Migliore, in his *Firenze, Città Nobilissima*, 1684, p. 6. He does not say whence he derived it; and no such decree exists in the archives of the state. The style is too rhetorical for the thirteenth century.

that claimed to be in a peculiar sense the support of the interests and authority of the church, while they were also stimulated to it by the spirit of rivalry in arts no less than in arms that burned deep in the hearts of citizens of neighboring states contending for pre-eminence. Florence could not easily brook that Pisa, Siena, and Orvieto, inferior to herself in numbers, wealth, and power, should each boast a cathedral far more spacious, more costly, and more beautiful than the old church that had long served her needs.

"And so," says the trustworthy Giovanni Villani, who was a youth in Florence when the work was begun, "in the year 1294, the city of Florence being in a state of tranquillity, the citizens agreed to rebuild the chief church of Florence, which was very rude in form and small in proportion to such a city, and they ordered that it should be enlarged, and extended at the back, and that it should be all made of marble, and with carven figures. And the foundation was laid with great solemnity, by the Cardinal Legate of the Pope, on the day of St. Mary in September,* and many Bishops, and the Podestà and the Captain, and all the Priors, and all the ranks of the Signory of Florence were present, and it was consecrated to the honor of God and St. Mary, under the name of St. Mary of the Flower,† although the original name of Santa Reparata

* The 8th of September, the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

† The Blessed Virgin of the Flower—the lily, alike the flower of Mary and of Florence, named for its flowers. The lily of Florence is the fleur-de-lys, while the flower of the Virgin is the true white lily; but

was never changed by the common people.* And for the building and work of the said church a tax was ordered by the commune of two denari upon every lira paid out of the public treasury, and a poll tax of two soldi. And the legate and the bishops bestowed great indulgences and pardons, to be gained by every one who should contribute aid or alms to the work."†

The work was indeed the common interest of all Florentines, and the supply of means for it their common duty. The decree establishing the poll tax to which Villani refers was made in December, 1296, under the title of "Super impositione pro opere ecclesiæ Sce. Reparatæ facienda." It provides, not, as Villani states, for a uniform poll tax, but for a tax graduated according to the property and family of the citizen. It was still further ordered that every person making a written will should bequeath a certain sum to the work; the notary employed to draw the will was re-

the two were associated in their symbolic attributes in the fancy of the Florentines. When, in their flourishing state, they laid the foundations of their great church, they might read the words of Ecclesiasticus as if addressed to themselves: "Florete flores quasi lilium et date odorem, et frondete in gratiam, et collaudate canticum et benedicite Dominum in operibus suis."

* The old name was long retained. It was not till 1412 that the new was substituted for it by a vote of the "Signori e Collegi."

† Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, lib. viii. c. ix. Villani's dates are not always to be trusted, even when he gives account of contemporary events. An old inscription in the wall of the church, itself of uncertain date, may be read in two ways, so as to give either 1296 or 1298 as the year of the consecration of the corner-stone by the legate. The most trustworthy Florentine antiquaries conclude from various evidence that the ceremony took place in 1296.

quired to remind the testator of this obligation, and in case of non-compliance with it the heirs were bound to make good the omission. For the gathering-in of these sums the bishop was empowered to employ two or more of the clergy, without salary, in each district of the Florentine territory. And, in order to quicken the liberality of testators, special indulgences were to attach to bequests for the building, over and above "the graces already conceded to the benefactors of the work."*

The architect of the commune at this time was Arnolfo, the son of Cambio: a great artist of whose life little is recorded, but whose works at Florence are his sufficient memorial.† He was busy with the construction of Santa Croce when he was called upon to take charge of the work on the Duomo. The old church of Santa Reparata had been constructed in that beautiful style of which the Church of San Miniato was till lately an exquisite example. Though this was a thoroughly national and vigorous style, it was now giving way before the foreign and intrusive modes of Gothic art. Arnolfo inherited from Niccola Pisano the love

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 431.

† Vasari's life of Arnolfo di Lapo, as he miscalls him, is full of errors. He was born near the middle of the thirteenth century, in the little town of Colle in the Val d' Elsa. It has been suggested, not without reason, that he was the Arnolfo, the pupil of Niccola Pisano, who was employed by his master on the pulpit for the Duomo of Siena. (See *ante*, p. 121.) The impulse to the progress of the arts given by the genius of Niccola would thus have been transmitted through a genius hardly inferior to his own.

of Gothic forms, and he had shown his preference for them in the design of Santa Croce. His work was doubtless approved by the popular taste. Such Gothic façades as those of Siena and Orvieto were indeed far more brilliant and striking, far more impressive to the uneducated taste, than the simple design and exquisite incrustation of San Miniato or Santa Reparata. The new style suited the new age, and Arnolfo undertook to rebuild Santa Reparata into a church in which the pointed should take the place of the round arch, the stone vaulted roof should be substituted for the flat timber ceiling, and the façade should form a splendid screen adorned with gable and pinnacle, rich with carving, glowing with mosaics, and shining with gold.

The deserts of Arnolfo were recognized by Florence, and in 1300, when the work on the Duomo was in active progress, a decree was passed which exhibits the mode taken by the commune for his recompense. "Considering," says the decree, "that Master Arnolphus is the chief master of the labor and work of the Church of the Blessed Reparata, the principal church of Florence, and that he is a more famous master and more expert in the building of churches than any one else in neighboring parts, and that through his industry, skill, and wit the commune and people of Florence, judging from the magnificent and visible beginning of the said work of the aforesaid church, hope to have a more beautiful and honorable temple than any other in the region of Tuscany," therefore "the Priors of the

Arts, and the standard-bearer of Justice, wishing to do honor to the person of this master," after deliberation and a vote by ballot, "have resolved and established that the aforesaid Master Arnolphus, so long as he shall live, shall be totally exempt and free from every tax and cess of the commune of Florence."*

This decree is dated April 1, 1300. The most significant date in the history of Florence lies within a week of this day, the date of Dante's journey through the three spiritual realms.† A little more than two months afterwards, on the 15th of June, Dante entered on his office as one of the priors of the city; and in that priorate, he himself declared, all the ills and calamities of his after-years had their occasion and beginning.‡

The year 1300 was in truth a disastrous year for Florence. The old party passions, quenched for a time, but not extinguished, blazed up with new fury, and wrapped the whole city in smoke and flame. The story of this wretched time has been often written. The city had never been so prosperous and so happy, says Villani, but this year was the beginning of its ruin. Bitter

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 445.

† Whether this journey began on the supposed actual day of the death of Christ, the 25th of March, or on Good Friday of 1300, the 8th of April, or on the Jewish Passover, the 5th of April of the same year, is doubtful and unimportant. See the note of Philalethes, *Inferno*, canto xxi. v. 114.

‡ "Tutti li mali, e tutti gl' inconvenienti miei dagl' infausti comizii del mio priorato ebbero cagione e principio." (Letter cited by Leonardo Bruni Aretino in his *Vita di Dante*, Firenze, 1672, p. 16.)

and destructive as had been the quarrels of former generations, they had brought less calamity to the city than those which now made of its people its own worst enemies. The people seemed to have gone mad. Things went from bad to worse. Dino Compagni, who witnessed and had share in the events of the period, has described them in his brief chronicle with the moving eloquence of an upright, clear-minded man, saddened by the misery he had witnessed and been unable to prevent.* "In these deeds of ill," he says, "many became great who before had had no name," many citizens were driven into exile, many houses ruined. No one was safe; neither relationship nor friendship availed aught. Friends became enemies, brothers deserted each other, the son fell away from the father; all love and humanity were extinct; great riches were wasted; trust, pity, pardon, were in no one to be found. Who cried loudest Let the traitors die! he was the greatest. Many a palace was burned and sacked within the city; many a village burned and many a field wasted in the territory that lay round about. Falsehood, perjury, robbery, murder, and all

* Within late years the authenticity of the Chronicle of Dino Compagni has been vigorously impugned by both German and Italian critics. It is a work which, if genuine, is of such extraordinary interest, and which in style of narration and quality of character holds so exceptional a place, that to have to regard it as a forgery of a later century would be matter for serious regret. The question is not yet authoritatively settled. I am inclined to believe that the chronicle as we now have it is in great part genuine, but that it was worked over, added to, and its integrity impaired by an anonymous writer of a comparatively late period.

crimes of violence and treachery made every man afraid. "Rise up, ye evil citizens," exclaims the chronicler; "take fire and flame in your hands, and spread wide your wicked deeds. Go, bring to ruin the beauty of your city. Shed the blood of your brothers; strip yourselves bare of faith and love, refuse aid and service one to another. Scatter the seed of lies till they shall fill the granaries of your children. But do ye believe that the justice of God has failed? Even that of this world rendereth one for one. Delay not, ye wretches. One day of war consumeth more than many years of peace can gain, and there needs but a little spark to bring a great city to destruction."*

On the 4th of November, 1301, the feeble, cruel, and treacherous Charles of Valois, commissioned by Pope Boniface VIII. to restore peace to the city, entered Florence. His doings served but to make things worse, and to gain for him there, says Dante, "sin and shame."† But, in the stress of storm and confusion, the order of civil life was not wholly broken up. Though troubles come and endure, yet must men eat, drink, and labor. Morning and evening, summer and winter, recur in their order, with their appointed tasks and their familiar gifts. The nature and the desires of men undergo no sudden change; old interests remain alive to strug-

* "Più si consuma in uno dì nella guerra, che molt' anni non si guadagni in pace." *Cronica*, lib. ii.

† *Purgatorio*, xx. 76:

> "Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta
> Guadagnerà."

gle with new passions. All parties in the strifes of those dark days, however otherwise they might be divided, were united at least in common faith in the doctrines of that religion of which the visible Church was the minister; and thus, on the 24th of November, twenty days after the entry of Charles of Valois — nicknamed *Carlo Senzaterra*, Charles Lackland — when he was extorting money from the rich by treachery and threats, and amusing himself with the sight of palaces ablaze, and while the government of the city was powerless to prevent or redress the wrongs hourly committed, the signory, still mindful of the work the commune had undertaken for its glory, voted the large subsidy for the fabric of the Duomo of eight thousand lire for two years.*

Two months later, on the 27th of January, 1302, Cante dei Gabrielli, Podestà of Florence, a tool in the hands of the ruling faction, condemned Dante, on the ground of malversation during his term of office as one of the priors, to a fine of five thousand florins. Dante was absent from Florence as one of her envoys to Boniface VIII. in Rome, but his sentence ran that unless the fine were paid within three days all his possessions should be laid waste, and then be confiscated to the benefit of the commune: "omnia bona talis non sol-

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 447. Dino Compagni describes the events of this time with vigorous and picturesque strokes: "Quando una casa ardea forte, messer Carlo domandava, 'Che fuoco è quello?' eragli risposto che era una capanna, quando era uno ricco palazzo."

ventis publicentur, vastentur, et destruantur, et vastate et destructa remaneant in communi." Building with one hand, destroying with the other, was the rule. Should the fine be paid within the allotted time, still Dante was to remain for two years in banishment. On the 10th of March he was proclaimed as in contumacy to the State, and condemned, should he ever fall into the power of the commune, to be burned to death: "igne comburatur sic quod moriatur."*

The answer of Dante to this sentence is in the words with which he begins one of the latest cantos of the *Divine Comedy:*

> "If e'er it happen that the Poem Sacred,
> To which both Heaven and earth have set their hand,
> So that it many a year hath made me lean,
> O'ercome the cruelty that bars me out
> From the fair sheepfold where a lamb I slumbered,
> An enemy to the wolves that war upon it,
> With other voice forthwith, with other fleece,
> Poet will I return, and at my font
> Baptismal will I take the laurel crown."

But he was never again to pass the sacred threshold of his beautiful St. John, nor again to see the rising walls of the cathedral, to which popular tradition has attached the memory of his interest, still pointing out the spot whence he was wont to watch the laying of their deep foundations and the lifting of their massive stones.

* The text of the decrees against Dante may be found in Fraticelli, *Storia della Vita di Dante Alighieri,* Firenze, 1861, pp. 147 seq. The originals may still be seen in the Florentine archives.

The records of the work during the next few years are scanty. In 1310 Arnolfo died, and, irreparable as was the loss of such genius as his, he had yet lived long enough to leave the building so far advanced that his successors in office would find little difficulty in continuing the main parts of the construction according to his design. During his many years of service as architect of the commune, Arnolfo had set his stamp ineffaceably upon the aspect of the city, giving to it many of the most striking features by which it is still adorned. The Palace of the Signory (the old palace, as it is called), the Palace of the Bargello, each with its aspiring belfry, now surmounting all other towers of the city; the vast pile of Santa Croce, the still vaster pile of the Duomo—of all of which the first design, and in great part the construction, were his—remain unsurpassed by later buildings, with a single exception; and, in the midst of more modern edifices preserving their ancient character, they give proof of the marvellous energy of the republic, and the not less marvellous gifts of the artist by whom she was served. Arnolfo had also overseen the beginnings of the great new circuit of turreted and battlemented wall that was to enclose and defend the city, and which stood as a picturesque and impressive memorial of the conditions of mediæval life till, but a few years ago, it was swept away to give place to what are called modern improvements.

Recent generations have so relentlessly waged war against the picturesqueness of mediæval cities that it is

difficult for the fancy to reproduce the full effect of the aspect of Florence at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In every street rose stronghold palaces, built for the needs of war as well as of peace, flanked by lofty towers, the shape of whose battlements gave sign to which of the great parties, Guelf or Ghibelline, their possessors owed allegiance.* The number of the towers of Florence was to be reckoned by hundreds. The Florentine masons had inherited the old Roman art of solid building. They knew how to lay stones so that they should lie as firm in wall or buttress as they had lain in their native beds.† Adjoining the palaces of the chief families was a *loggia*, or covered portico or arcade, where the rich and noble were wont to celebrate those ceremonies in which the common people—the *popolo minuto*—had a share of interest, or at which

* The merlons of the Guelf battlements were square, those of the Ghibelline were "a coda di rondine," that is, in shape like the letter **M**.

† Palaces and towers were built with a double wall of cut stone, of blocks of uniform thickness. The space between the sections of the wall was filled in with a concrete of lime and pebbles, by which the whole was bound together in a solid mass. The towers were usually square; few were less than one hundred feet, many were more than two hundred feet, in height. They were entered by a small door opening directly upon the narrow staircase which filled their whole interior space. Here and there a passage in the wall led to a loop-hole, or to a door by which the defenders of the tower, if assailed, might pass out at a safe height on to a movable platform supported by brackets of stone, many of which may even now be seen in the truncated remains of these old monuments of the fights and feuds of those passionate days that were the discipline of Florentine character and the training of her art. See Passerini's note in Ademollo's *Marietta de' Ricci*, Firenze, 1845, vol. ii. p. 735. The notes to this elaborate historical romance in six volumes octavo, contain an immense amount of information concerning Florence not easily found elsewhere.

their presence as witnesses was desirable. Here marriage contracts were signed, here festivals for public honors were held, and here victories over domestic or foreign enemies were celebrated with feasts and rejoicings. Tower and loggia were the signs of dignity, power, and wealth, and were objects of special pride and jealous care to the members and retainers of the house to whose greatness they bore testimony. The gates of the city, new-built by Arnolfo, were so many fortresses; and the strong wall now extending its defence around the town was furnished, "for beauty as well as for strength," with towers, at a distance of less than four hundred feet one from another, no one of them less than twenty-five feet square or than seventy-five feet in height, and many much larger and higher. "And in order," says Giovanni Villani, "that the memory of the greatness of this city may last forever, and for the sake of those people who have not been at Florence and may see this chronicle, we will describe in order the construction of this wall, and the measures of it as they were diligently measured at our instance, we, the writer, being the officer of the commune to superintend the walls."* From the account he gives, it would seem that there must have been more than two hundred of these towers on the circuit of the walls. The walls themselves were nearly forty feet in height and more than six feet in thickness; and their construction, begun in 1284 and completed, in spite of many

* *Cronica*, lib. ix. capp. cclvi. cclvii.

periods of interruption in their progress, in 1327, is one of the many proofs of the vigor and riches of the city at this time. For two hundred years the towers kept watch and ward around Florence; but in the days of her decline and misery, when Pope Clement VII. was her master, they were thrown down, that the city might be put in order of defence against the artillery of the Emperor Charles V. "Within these walls," says Villani, writing in 1324, "there are, what with cathedral and abbeys and monasteries and other chapels, at least a hundred churches, and close by every door there is a church, a convent, or a hospital. And now we will leave the description of the city of Florence, for we have said enough of it, and will return to our subject."

It is probable that even before Arnolfo's death, in 1310, the means for the building of the Duomo had fallen off, owing to the confusions and disasters of the first years of the century. Besides the usual calamities and destructions of civic warfare, Florence had suffered in 1304 from a conflagration more terrible and wasteful than she had ever before experienced. In the heat of a most embittered fight between the factions that divided the State, one of the partisans, a priest, Neri Abati by name, a man of lewd and dissolute life, set fire to two houses near the Mercato Vecchio, the most crowded part of the city. A high wind was blowing from the north; the flames soon got beyond control, and, spreading fast, wrapped possessions and palaces of both parties in common destruction. "In fine," says

Villani, with pathetic simplicity, "the fire burned all the marrow and core and dear places of the city of Florence, and the number of them, between palaces, towers, and houses, was seventeen hundred. The loss of furniture, treasure, and merchandise was infinite, for in those places were almost all the merchandise and precious things of Florence; and that which was not burned was carried off by thieves, for the fighting was still going on through the city; so that many trading companies and many families were stripped and made poor by the burning and the robbery. This calamity happened to our city on the 10th of June."

Though the fire had destroyed the core of the city, it had not killed the worm that had so long been gnawing at it. The flames were but the type of the more malignant fires of rancorous jealousy and hate, of party and personal passion, which wasted the energies and consumed the strength of great and small, of noble and workman alike. Civil anarchy was followed by war abroad, war abroad by new domestic discords. There was little spirit for works that the needs of the time did not immediately require. Private fortunes demanded repair. A new generation had arisen since the cathedral was begun—a generation with less zeal for its construction than that by which it had been undertaken; and after the death of Arnolfo the work came almost to a stop. At length, in 1318, through the wise efforts of a stranger, Count Guido di Battifolle, vicar of King Robert the Good of Naples, a new and better

order was established both in public and in private affairs. Quiet was restored to the city, and prosperity began to return with peace. Old quarrels were made up, old enmities appeased. Works of improvement were taken in hand, and the cathedral was no longer neglected. A decree was passed assigning for the term of five years a fifth of all sums paid to the chamberlain of the commune, for the benefit of the fabric of the Duomo, which, in the words of the decree, "had for some time past made slow progress, nay, had been almost given up through want of money."*

This new supply of funds, and such other supplies as the piety of the people may have ministered, at once produced great activity. The superintendents of the works (*offitiales presidentes*) presented a petition to the signory, stating that a large quantity of marble had been bought by them at Carrara, that they had increased the number of master workmen on the building ("ut in eodem opere plus solito laborent"), and praying that the commune would, according to its wont ("more solito"), "extend the helping hand," and would assign one third of the revenues of the "office of the sin of heresy" in aid of the work.† The petition was granted.

After this sign of life and activity, there is again a

* "Quæ a tempore citra lente processit, immo quasi derelicta est propter defectum pecuniæ." Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 452.

† The revenues of "the office of the sin of heresy" were probably derived from fines and confiscations of the property of condemned heretics. The petition is in Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 455.

wide gap in the records of the Duomo. In 1320 began the most disastrous war in which Florence was ever engaged. Her enemy was Castruccio Castracani, Lord of Lucca, who by his energy and extraordinary ability had raised himself to the head of the Ghibelline party in Tuscany, and from this time till his death, in 1328, waged unremitting and relentless war against Florence and her Guelf allies. A soldier trained by years of service in France, England, and Lombardy, embittered against his enemies by experience of exile and wrong at their hands; a man of popular arts, but of stern temper, strict in his sense of his own and others' rights,* full of resource, acquainted with men, and knowing how to rule them, of large ambition and of steady mind—he succeeded, during his long struggle with Florence, notwithstanding her superior resources of wealth and of men, in defeating her armies, in wasting her territory, and in subjecting her to the bitterest humiliations.†

The war told with disastrous effect on the trade and the prosperity of the city. Her merchants became unable to fulfil their agreements, and in the summer of 1326 there were many commercial failures, the chief among them being that of the great banking-house of the Scali and Amieri and the brothers Petri, which claimed an existence of more than one hundred and

* "Homo probissimus et legalis ultra quam dici possit." *Chron. Regiense.* Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xviii. col. 40.

† "Et tunc (1325) Castrucius equitavit super districtu Florentiæ ad sui libitum deprædando, et comburendo omnia." Id. col. 36.

twenty years, and which was indebted to domestic and foreign creditors for the enormous sum of more than four hundred thousand florins—an amount to be measured by the fact that it was not far from that of the ordinary revenue of the State for two years and a half. It was a terrible blow to Florence; for, says Villani, "every man who had money lost with them, and many other good companies in Florence were held in suspicion, on account of this failure, to their great harm."

One event that took place in the next year is too characteristic of the spirit of the times to be left unmentioned. This was the burning as a heretic of master Cecco d' Ascoli, one of the most learned and enlightened men of his age, who, in spite of his sharing in the wide-spread belief in the influence of the stars upon human fate and fortune, and his profession of the science of astrology, which he had taught in the university at Bologna, shows himself in his works as an original investigator of nature, and as a man of elevated sentiment. His poem entitled *L' Acerba* is, indeed, rather the work of a student than a poet, treating in encyclopædic fashion of the material and moral world. It was no poem of vain imaginings, such as that of Dante—

> "Qui non si canta al modo del poeta
> Che finge imaginando cose vane
> * * * * *
> Le favole mi son sempre nemiche."

He was an old man—seventy years old—when he was

burned; and there is hardly to be found a more striking record of party passion and of superstition than that which, beginning with the condemnation of Dante to the flames, ends with the death by fire of one of the most worthy of his contemporaries. That Cecco met his death manfully may be believed from the testimony of his own verse, in which he says, "I have had fear of three things: to be of a poor and mendicant spirit; to do harm and to give displeasure to others; and through my own fault to lose a friend." *

The war went on with various fortune, but with little check of Castruccio's rising power. In 1328 he was lord of Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia, and of three hundred castles and fortified places; he was master of great part of the seaboard south of Genoa, and held rule over wide territory. He was planning new victories when, in the summer of this year, he fell ill. On the 3d of September he died. Florence was safe, relieved from the most dangerous external foe that ever threatened her, for the fabric of Castruccio's power was supported by his mighty hand alone, and, that support withdrawn, it fell with a crash to the ground. Throughout the whole period of her adversity, Florence had been sustained by the thought, which the historian Ammirato calls "the general comfort of republics," that she was in a certain way eternal, not depending on the life of any individual, and able to endure great shocks with-

* G. Villani, lib. x. cap. xl. Libri, *Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie*, tome ii. pp. 191–200.

out ruin; while the power of a prince, depending on himself alone, was subject to the chance of evil fortune and of death.* The reflection is a just one as drawn from the experience of Italy in this age, when tyrant after tyrant rose by force of personal qualities into sudden power, which was shattered as suddenly by his death.

Relieved from war, Florence set to work to reform her government. Reverting to her old democratic system, changes of great significance were introduced into its forms, with the intent to remedy some of the defects that experience had shown in it, and with especial aim to securing greater stability of administration, to excluding unfit persons from office, and to establishing the power of "the party," which was the title now arrogated by the Guelfs. The bitter irony of Dante's reproach † of his fellow-citizens on their frequent change of laws was indeed deserved, but their fickleness may be regarded in another light as an indication of their very intelligence and eager quest of good. They were

* Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, Firenze, 1824, tomo iii. lib. vii. p. 8.

† "Athens and Lacedæmon, they who made
The ancient laws and were so civilized,
Made towards living well a little sign
Compared with thee, who makest such fine-spun
Provisions that to middle of November
Reaches not what thou in October spinnest.
How oft, within the time of thy remembrance,
Laws, money, offices, and usages
Hast thou remodelled, and renewed thy members?"
*Purgatory*, vi. 139–147. (Longfellow's Translation.)

at the beginning of the long series of experiments, not yet near its conclusion, to determine the limits and relations of law and liberty, the proper functions of government, the rights of the individual in society. The Florentines, forming the most civilized and intelligent popular community in existence, were trying to discover the modes by which they might secure the blessings of good order, prosperity, and strength. Many of their attempts were childish; they were impatient, they made many mistakes; and as in all republics, so here were many who preferred their personal interests to those of the State. The conflict between private selfishness and the public good was sharp, constant, and often disastrous.

Though Castruccio had failed to become master of the city, he had wrought desolation around her; and the year after his death she, in common with the greater part of Tuscany, suffered from a distressing famine. The price of grain rose to triple and quadruple its usual level. There was great misery among the poor. Perugia, Siena, Lucca, Pistoia, pitilessly drove the destitute beggars from their gates. But Florence, with wise counsel and good foresight, "in piety towards God," opened her gates to all, and, sending at public cost for shiploads of grain to Sicily, kept the market supplied with it at a low rate. But this did not suffice to relieve the suffering, and therefore at length the commune, withdrawing the grain from market, employed all the bakeries to bake for the public use, and

sold the bread every day at a price much below its cost. "The commune of Florence," said Villani, "lost in these two years" (for the famine, beginning in 1328, lasted into the year 1330) "more than sixty thousand florins of gold in the support of the people." "And though I, the writer, was not worthy of so great an office, I found myself officer of the commune, with others, in this bitter time; and, by the grace of God, we were inventors of this remedy and method whereby the people were kept quiet, and violence was prevented, and the poor folk made content, without scandal or uproar. And further let this witness to the truth that nowhere else were such alms ministered to the poor, by powerful and compassionate citizens, as during this unwonted famine were ministered by the good Florentines; wherefore I firmly reckon and believe that, for the sake of the said alms and provision made for the poor, God has guarded, and will guard, our city from great adversities." *

Even during the last ten years, strained as the public resources had been, private luxury seems to have met with no serious check, while the effeminate refinements of fashion, *le morbidezze d' Egitto*, of which Boccaccio complains, had increased to a degree that indicates a decline in the moral temper and ideals of the people. The worst calamity attending a long-protracted stress of war in a narrow community is the breaking-up of the orderly habits of society, while the influ-

* *Cronica*, lib. x. cap. cxviii.

ence of its keen excitements leads to the adoption of irregular and extravagant modes of life.

The war with Castruccio had so diminished the revenue of the commonwealth that some years passed after its close before Florence felt able to go on with the long-interrupted work upon her Duomo. At length, in 1331, a year of great abundance and prosperity, the commune resolved to take the building once more in hand. A portion of the taxes was assigned to the work, and the charge of it was committed to the Art of Wool;* that is, to the corporation of the dealers in wool, the richest and most powerful of the Arts of Florence. It was no new thing to intrust the superintendence of a public work to one of the Arts. Not only the building, but the charge and maintenance of churches, hospitals, and prisons were committed to them.† For the heads of the Arts—consuls, rectors, or captains, as they might be called—were men elected by the body of the Art to manage its affairs, and being chosen by those who knew them well, might be trusted as of approved capacity and integrity, trained to business, and accustomed to the conduct of large

* Villani, *Cronica*, lib. x. cap. cxcii. In the decree making these provisions, the church was spoken of as having been begun "tam formosa et pulcra, sed remansit iam est longum tempus et est absque hedificatione aliqua." See Cavalucci, *Cenni Storici sulla Edificazione della Cattedrale Fiorentina*, Firenze, 1871. An ancient inscription inserted in the wall of the Duomo records the intrusting of the work to the Art of Wool.

† Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. iv. ann. 1293, 1294; Paolini, *Della Legitima Libertà del Commercio*, tomo i. nota 64; Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 532, 12 Jun. 1388.

undertakings. A natural spirit of emulation among the Arts led them to take pride in the honorable fulfilment of such trusts, and enlisted the personal interest of each member in the mode of their discharge.. It was an admirable method for securing the best public servants, and for keeping them under the constant supervision of a vigorous, sensitive, and intelligent public opinion. Florence was the first city of modern times thus to take advantage of the power that resides in the free but organized opinion of a well-ordered community.

It was long since the most precious building in Florence, its ancient baptistery—Dante's "my beautiful St. John"—had been thus intrusted to the Art of Calimala, or foreign wool merchants.* St. John Baptist was the special patron of Christian Florence; the city was his sheepfold ("ovil di San Giovanni"), and in his church all her children gained entrance to the kingdom of Christ. Cacciaguida tells the story of every Florentine when he says to Dante,

> "And in your ancient baptistery, at once
> Christian and Cacciaguida I was made."†

* The origin and etymology of the name Calimala are uncertain. The members of this Art found their gain in purchasing the rough cloths of Flanders, France, and England, and sending them in bales to Florence, to be sheared, dyed, and finished, and thence exported to all parts of Europe and to many parts of the East. The traffic was on a great scale, and for a long period was one of the chief sources of the commercial prosperity of the city.

The statute of this Art, as revised in 1337, is to be found in the third volume of Emiliani-Giudici's *Storia dei Comuni Italiani*, Firenze, 1866; and from it may be gained exact knowledge of the modes of superintendence by the Art of the public works intrusted to its charge.

† "My whole history of Christian architecture and painting begins

The third book of the statute of the Art of Calimala begins with the following rubric: "In the name of God, Amen. To the honor of the omnipotent God, and of his Mother, and of the blessed messer St. John Baptist, and of messer St. Eusebius, and of messer St. Miniatus (San Miniato), and the other saints of Paradise, here below are writ the rules that relate to the work (*opera*)* of St. John, that of San Miniato aforesaid, and of the hospital or house of St. James at St. Eusebius's, ruled and governed under the ancient and modern defence and firm guardianship of the praiseworthy Art and university of the consuls and merchants of the Art of Calimala in the city of Florence." Following this rubric come the chapters of the statute concerning the charities to which the Art was held bound. Among others, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday morning the *vice-operaio* of St. John, who was to be "a good, discreet and trustworthy layman, of sound body, of good report and condition, and of upright life," was to distribute in the church twenty dozen loaves of bread. In addition, two good men, appointed for a six months' term of service, were every week to give alms to the shamefaced poor ("poveri vergognosi") in the shape of grain sufficient for thirty dozen loaves. This grain was

with this baptistery of Florence, and with its associated cathedral," says Mr. Ruskin, in his *Ariadne Florentina*, p. 59.

* The "opera," used to denote the official board of works. The chief officer was the *operarius* or *operajo;* he administered the funds of the *opera*, was responsible for contracts made in its name, and had the general oversight of the execution of the works undertaken by it.

to be supplied from the funds of the *opera*, and the two agents of the Art were required to give the said alms in company, after diligent inquisition into the condition of the poor and needy of the different sections of the city and district of Florence.

The Feast of St. John Baptist, on the 24th of June, was the chief religious festival of Florence, and was celebrated with special solemnity and splendor. Every year, fifteen days before the feast, proclamation was made through the city that all those who in past time had been accustomed to make offering on St. John's Day should be ready with their offerings as usual. On the evening of the vigil of the feast the whole city was astir. The Podestà and the Captain of the People with their attendants, the consuls, notaries, and chamberlain of the Art of Calimala, accompanied by the chief and best men from each warehouse and shop of the guild, together with the consuls of all the other Arts, went in solemn procession to the church, every man bearing a candle of prescribed weight to be offered at the altar for the fabric and adornment of the edifice. The procession, representing the dignity and wealth of the city, was increased by deputations from the villages and towns of the territory of the State, each under its respective banner, and by the nobles, who came from their outlying castles and strongholds, with bands of retainers, to add their offerings to those of the citizens, and to manifest their devotion to the saint. Two merchants of the Calimala were deputed to receive the offerings,

to keep a list of the places represented and the persons present at the altar, and, in case of the absence of any of those accustomed to make offering, to take measures that the default should afterwards be made good. (Arts. v. x. xxvii.) The offering was regarded as a debt, and the whole transaction was conducted on a basis of established rules. It was provided, moreover, by the statute of the commune that a portion of the salaries of the Podestà and the Captain of the People should be annually set aside for the work. Another source of income, however small, arose from the custom of release by the commune of a certain number of criminals annually on St. John's Day, who were presented at the altar of his church, their pardon being thus granted not only as an act of mercy pleasing to the saint, but also as involving a pledge on their part thenceforth to live without offence, for which the most sacred sanction was required. Every criminal thus released and presented at the altar was obliged to make an offering of six pence (*sei danari*) for the use of the church.* (Art.

* This excellent custom prevailed in many of the Italian states. But in different cities criminals were presented at the altars of different saints. See *ante*, p. 134, for the usage in Siena. There is a sonnet by Guido Orlandi, a contemporary of Dante, in which, speaking of Dante's own party in the State, he says, for them—

> "No pardon can be claimed,
> Excepting they be offered to St. John."

And these words are striking because this was the very condition attached to that recall to Florence which Dante received with the other exiles in 1316, and which he rejected with the noblest scorn. There is not a manlier voice to be heard than Dante's in the letter in which he refuses terms which would imply that he was guilty towards his coun-

xxvii.) Many were the bequests of the pious, and most careful provision was made in the statute for the proper administration of the houses and lands that might thus come into possession of the *opera.*

Two of the best merchants of the Art were annually appointed by the consuls under the title of Officers of the Mosaic Work of St. John Baptist ("Officiali dell' Opera Moyse di santo Giovanni Battista"), whose duty it was to provide for the doing of whatever in the way of building, repair, or ornament might appear to them for the good and honor of the fabric.* The

try: "If Florence is not to be entered by the way of honor, I will never enter it." "Quidne? Nonne solis astrorumque specula ubique conspiciam? Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculare ubique sub cœlo, ni prius inglorium, immo ignominiosum populo, Florentinæque civitati me reddam? Quippe nec panis deficiet." This offer of recall came to Dante at the court of Can Grande at Verona. Many of his companions in exile submitted to its ignominious terms, and on St. John's Day, the 24th of June, 1317, the Tosinghi, the Manelli, the Rinucci, and others walked as criminals and penitents in the procession, with mitres as the mark of their infamy upon their heads, with candles in their hands, and being presented at the altar, and having made the due offering, were relieved from the penalties that had been pronounced against them. This is said to have been the first time at which persons condemned for political offences were thus freed from punishment.

* These officers derived their name from the mosaics with which the tribune and cupola of the church were encrusted, and which were the principal works of the kind in Florence. The earliest of them were designed and executed, as an inscription in the mosaic reports, by a Franciscan friar, Fra Jacopo by name, in 1225, and they still remain, almost as perfect as when first set in place, interesting and instructive memorials of the practice of the arts at that date in Florence, and of the types of representation of sacred subjects, derived mainly from Byzantine tradition. See Vasari, *Vita di Andrea Tafi*, and the commentary on the *Life of Tafi*, vol. i. p. 287, in the Le Monnier edition of *Vasari's Lives*, Firenze, 1846. The inscription referred to closes with these verses:

"Sancti Francisci frater fuit hoc operatus
Jacobus in tali pre cunctis arte probatus."

work was to be "the best and most beautiful that can be done, for the honor of God and the blessed St. John." (Art. xii.) Two good men were also appointed each year to have charge of the banners which were hung within the church, as well as of the triumphant *carroccio*, or car of war, of Florence, which was under the especial protection and guardianship of St. John Baptist. They were to see to maintaining the carroccio in good order, with all its due appurtenances, and were to provide a suitable place for its safe-keeping, its masts only being kept within the church itself. (Art. xxii.) The sentiment which the carroccio inspired, and the honor done to it as the symbol of the warlike power of the free commune, are well indicated by these provisions. To the Florentines the car and its banner were sacred; to defend it at all hazards was the highest duty, to die for its safety was the noblest sacrifice to the genius of the dear and reverend city, for which no sacrifice could be too costly.

As a portion of their duty as guardians of the Church of St. John, and trustees of its property, with that of the other institutions of religion and charity committed to their charge, the Art of Calimala undertook to defend it against the encroachments of the clergy, who, it would appear from numerous provisions, set up claims or sought to obtain papal privileges or concessions interfering with the rights of the Art. The consuls of the Art were instructed to resist such pretensions by every means in their power, and, if need arose, were au-

thorized to spend a thousand marks of the money of the Art, or more if they saw fit, to secure "that the said works should remain free and quiet under their guard and protection." And in order that the rights of the said works may be preserved entire, "the consuls shall be represented by a procurator at the Court of Rome, who shall zealously appear in audience to oppose whoever may attempt to obtain any brief or privilege contrary to these rights." (Art. xvii.) It was still further ordered that the consuls of the Art should summon before them the chief and best men of the following companies of merchants, namely, the Bardi, Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Bonacorsi, Biliotti,* and all others that have dealings in the Court of Rome; and should order each, under oath, and under fitting penalty, without fail to see to it that the partners of their companies who dwell in and follow the Court of Rome studiously adopt the needful measures with their friends that the church and board of works of St. John Baptist may be exempt and free from every impost, procuration, or levy of whatever nature of the clergy of Florence; "and that messer the Bishop of Florence, or the clergy of the cathedral church of Florence, or any one else, whether in their name, or his own, or that of any other person,

* The Bardi, the Peruzzi, and the Acciaiuoli were at this time the leading bankers of Europe. Their establishments were very numerous, and their affairs as brokers and money-lenders on a vast scale. Their wealth and credit gave them great power. They received the papal dues in all parts of Europe, transmitting them through their branch houses to the head firms in Florence and in Rome.

shall in nowise intermeddle with or interfere in any matter concerning the said church or *opera*, except in so far as permitted by the consuls of the merchants of Calimala, and the other men of the said Art, under whose guard and protection the said church and *opera* are directed, maintained, and governed with pure faith."

"And the said consuls are further required, every year, in the month of January, to elect and depute four of the best and most sensible merchants of Calimala, with every general and special power and authority, to inquire, discourse, treat, and arrange with all and singular men, persons, nobles, places, congregations, and communities of whatever condition or dignity they may be, how and by what way, mode, and order the *opera* and the Church of St. John may be best maintained in honor, beautiful, free, and exempt, and be watched over, *in perpetuo*, honorably, to the reverence of Almighty God, and of his Mother, and of the said St. John, and to the good state of the commune of Florence and of the most pure Art of the merchants of Calimala." (Art. xxiv.)

Similar provisions to those of this statute in regard to the administration of the trust reposed in the Art by the commune undoubtedly existed in those of the other chief Arts. The share that the Arts thus took in the erection, decoration, and preservation of the sacred and beautiful buildings of the city trained and disciplined the perceptions of the citizens, and quickened their sympathies for the works of their artists and artisans.

Every new structure became a school of the eye and the taste of the Florentines, and the effect was to make them competent in judgment and quick in interest in matters of art as no other modern community has been, while "the chief and best merchants" formed a body of patrons and employers of artists unmatched in intelligence except by the merchant nobles of Venice. No wonder that the fine arts flourished under such conditions, and that the city secured for three centuries such expression of her sentiment, her creed, and her life as no other city ever enjoyed for an equal length of time.

The Art of Wool, on receiving charge of the structure of the Duomo, at once proceeded to make provision for the work, ordering that in every warehouse and shop of the craftsmen of Florence a box should be kept wherein a certain sum—the pence of the Lord—should be put on occasion of every sale or purchase. "In the beginning," says Villani, "this amounted to two thousand lire a year."

The records of the work now undertaken on the Duomo are lost, but on the 12th of April, 1334, a vote memorable in the history of the building was passed by the magistracy of the republic, appointing the most famous artist of all Italy, Giotto, chief master of the work of the cathedral, and overseer of the construction of the walls and of the other works of the commune; since, so ran the preamble, "in the whole world no one more competent for these and many other things can be found than master Giotto di Bondone, of

Florence, painter, and to the end that he may be received in his own land as a great master, and one held dear in the above-named State, and that he may have reason for making his abode continually in it, by which very many may profit from his knowledge and teaching, and no slight honor result to the city."* Florence showed her wisdom in thus choosing the most original and imaginative of her artists for the master of her works. He justified her selection, and the judgment of posterity has approved it. A hundred years later, Ghiberti, writing his *Commentaries on Art*, said, "Giotto saw that in art whereto others had not attained; he brought nature into art, and grace therewith, not overpassing just limits. He was most skilful in every art. He was the finder and discoverer of the great learning that had lain buried for about six hundred years. When nature has the will to concede anything, she concedes it without stint. And this man abounded in all things."†

Giotto gave himself to his new charge with the effectual ardor of genius. No written record of his work on the Duomo remains, but the walls themselves seem to bear witness to it. A stretch of wall on the north and on the south, running eastward from the façade, more beautiful in composition and design, more exquisite in its forms and in the pattern of the slabs of

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 481.

† *Secondo Commentario del Ghiberti*, in Le Monnier's edition of Vasari, vol. i. p. 18.

marble and serpentine with which it is incrusted than the later work joined to it, may be ascribed with fair probability to the period of his oversight of the building.*

But Giotto's labor was not limited to the Duomo itself. In spite of engagements on other work within and without the city, he speedily designed and began the construction of the most exquisite building of modern times, the one in which the quality of classic art is most completely and beautifully harmonized with the spirit and fancy of the modern times—the unsurpassed bell-tower of the Duomo, known and admired by all men as the Campanile of Giotto, the most splendid memorial of the arts of Florence.

On the 18th of July, 1334, scarcely more than three months after his appointment, the foundations of the campanile were laid with great pomp and religious ceremony.†

The tower so quickly begun was lifted vigorously,

* These pieces of wall include four windows and a door on each side. They have the character of the Gothic—"quella maniera Tedesca," as Vasari calls it—adopted by Giotto in other buildings. The proportions of these windows and portals are more slender, their ornamentation is richer and more refined, their gables are more pointed, than those of the later work. They are also set closer together, between flat buttresses nearer one to the other than in the rest of the building. Owing to changes in the construction of the interior, the windows have been blocked up within.

† Villani, *Cronica*, lib. xi. cap. xii. Vasari, in his *Life of Giotto*, gives an interesting account of the masonry of the foundations, and of Giotto's designs and models for the tower. He states that Giotto's salary from the commune was one hundred golden florins annually. In the decree appointing him, the amount of his salary is not fixed.

and it may have reached somewhat more than a third of its proposed height when, in January, 1337, Giotto, "who in life," says Vasari, "had made so many and such beautiful works, and had been not less good Christian than excellent painter, gave back his soul to God, to the great grief of all his fellow-citizens, not only of those who had known him, but also of those who had only heard of him; and he was buried, as his virtues deserved, with honor, having been loved during his life by every one, and especially by men excellent in all the arts," by Dante, for example, and by Petrarch. He was buried in Santa Maria del Fiore, on the side nearest the campanile.

After his death there is a wide gap in the annals of the Duomo.* To his godson and pupil, the noted painter Taddeo Gaddi, and to the sculptor Neri di Fioravante, was intrusted the oversight of the work on the campanile. But there is no evidence concerning its progress or as to the date of its completion.†

The plague of 1348 desolated Florence only less than Siena. Boccaccio, whose famous narrative gives a most impressive picture of the horrors of the pesti-

* The design of the ornamental façade which partially covered the front of the building, and which was taken down in 1588, was long ascribed by tradition to Giotto. But from documents first published in 1863, by Signor Cesare Guasti, the keeper of the archives of the *opera*, it seems certain that he had no hand in it, and that its execution was not begun till at least twenty years after his death. See Guasti, *Opuscoli di Belle Arti*, Firenze, 1874; *Della Facciata di S. Maria del Fiore*, pp. 45 seq.

† It was not finished in 1355, as appears from a vote of new sums for its building. Gaye, *Carteggio*, i. 508.

lence, declares that between March and July more than one hundred thousand persons, as is believed, died within the walls of Florence. The number may be exaggerated, but the mortality was frightful in its amount and terrible in its effect. The spring of vitality in Florence was, however, unexhausted by it, and after a period of confusion, dismay, depravity, and recklessness, the city regained its self-control, and recovered more rapidly than its weaker neighbors from the blow which had checked, but had not destroyed, the sources of its prosperity.* The plague had been accompanied, as one of its natural consequences, by a sudden outbreak of pious superstition. Immense sums had been given and bequeathed by dying men to the Church and to public charities to purchase salvation. And, when the regular order of life was once more re-established, the Church found itself richer than ever before, and there was a general ardent desire to ward off by works of piety the blows of future evil.

Moreover, as often happens after such calamities, the reaction from the tension of anxiety and distress displayed itself in a changed habit of mind as well as of life. To the survivors of the plague the world seemed renewed; the time had a fresh promise. The tales of

* One consequence of the plague has not been remarked as it deserves by the historians. In the confusion that followed the extinction of many important families and the enforced vacancy of many offices, vast numbers of documents were lost or wantonly destroyed. To this cause is doubtless due the dearth of records concerning the early history of the Duomo.

the *Decameron* reveal the light-heartedness of Florence. Old things had passed away; old designs appeared unsuited to the new conditions. To such a spirit the Duomo begun sixty years before, in days of comparative weakness, seemed hardly to correspond with the demands of the more lavish and luxurious age. Florence was more pre-eminent than ever among the cities of Tuscany, and her Duomo ought to be representative of her present power and wealth. Accordingly, and doubtless after much deliberation, it was resolved, "out of regard to the magnificence of the commune, and the riches and the fame of the city and the citizens," to adopt a new design for the Duomo on a grander scale than that of the building planned by Arnolfo. The breadth was to remain the same, perhaps in order to preserve the beautiful side walls already constructed; but the walls were to be raised about twenty-one feet, the length was to be increased by more than a third, and the central area and the eastern end of the church were to be vastly enlarged. This change of design required not only the destruction of the work already done within the walls, but also the strengthening of the foundations, and a doubling of the façade wall.*

* This reconstruction of the Duomo has been generally overlooked by the historians of the arts. The belief that the existing church is constructed according to Arnolfo's original design rests upon the account given by Vasari in his life of that artist. It is curious that Vasari appears ignorant of this fourteenth-century remodelling. A passage from the *Istoria Fiorentina* of Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, who died in 1385, published by the Padre Ildefonso di San Luigi, in his *Delizie*

Francesco Talenti, sculptor and architect, a man of high capacity but of irregular habits, of whose life little is known, was the chief master of the works, having succeeded the famous Andrea Pisano in that post, and to him was probably due in general the character of the new design. The authorities in charge of the edifice took counsel in regard to its execution, according to well-established custom, with the most skilled masters and the most intelligent laymen, and submitted the plans to popular inspection, publicly inviting criticism upon them.*

On the 19th of June, 1357, "in presence of the provost, and all the canons and chaplains and friars, and masters and citizens who had been of the council, with a great triumph of bells, of organs, and of chants, at vespers, the digging for the foundation of the new piers of the church was begun." And on the 5th of July following, "the Bishop of Narni having blessed and con-

*degli Eruditi Toscani*, Firenze, 1781, vol. xiv. p. 30, in which the chronicler describes the undertaking of the new building, seems to have lain unnoticed. The true facts were first brought out by the Cavalier Camillo Boito in a series of papers entitled *Francesco Talenti: Ricerche Storiche sul Duomo di Firenze dal* 1294 *al* 1367. Milano, 1866. They have since been repeated in a series of interesting communications on the history of the Duomo, by Signor C. I. Cavalucci, which appeared at Florence in the newspaper *La Nazione* in the course of 1871, under the title of *Cenni Storici sulla Edificazione della Cattedrale Fiorentina.*

* It appears that only a general scheme of the reconstruction was adopted, leaving the consideration of details until the time when in the progress of the work a decision in regard to them might become necessary. This seems to have been a not infrequent mode of procedure in the construction of the great mediæval churches, and thus some of the incongruities and irregularities apparent in them are to be accounted for.

secrated a block of marble, on which were carved a cross and the date of year and day, they began, in the name of God, to lay the foundation of the first column within the church towards the campanile," with great pomp and sacred ceremony.

Thus the church that Arnolfo had designed gave way to a mightier edifice which was to be the permanent expression of the pride and the piety of Florence.*

The main forms of the new building were in great part determined by such portion of the old structure of Giotto's time as was left standing, as well as by the original scheme of Arnolfo. They were of the Gothic style as modified by Tuscan builders, but the spirit that had vivified the art of Arnolfo and Giotto and their immediate successors was declining with a gradual change in the taste of the age, which displays itself in an inclination, not yet clear or decisive, but in its earliest stages, towards a recurrence to classical

* Probably all that remains of Arnolfo's building are the foundations and part of the interior brickwork of the façade, and of the side walls for about one hundred and seventy-five feet eastward from the front.

As illustrative of the mode of procedure by popular counsel, it is recorded that in 1357 the *operai* ordered that the drawing showing the proposed changes in the façade be hung upon it on the outside, that all might see how it was to be built. Guasti, *Opuscoli*, p. 50. And in the same year, when the form of the columns within the church was to be decided, the model selected by the Board of Works was set up for inspection, and at its foot was written in large letters that if any one should have fault to find with it, he should within eight days come to the *operai*, or to others in their place, and speak his mind, and he should be graciously listened to. Cavalucci, *Cenni Storici*, ii. Boito, *Francesco Talenti*, p. 30.

modes of design and construction. The new school of artists were out of sympathy with their predecessors. They had still less mastered the principles of Gothic architecture. They imitated its forms, but were unaware that the excellence of those forms was essentially dependent on the modes of construction in which they had their origin. They built as Italians upon a system and method whose traditions reached back to Roman times. The result was neither good Gothic nor good classic building.

Its size gives dignity to the church, and its effect is powerful from the simplicity and largeness of its design. A nave of four enormous bays is stopped upon a vast octagonal space, from which, at the east, the north, and the south, are built out three pentagonal tribunes or apses, which, as seen on the outside, give to the church the common cruciform shape. The proportions of the interior are on an enormous scale, by which the apparent size of the building is diminished rather than increased.* There is nothing either in the general conception or in the working-out of the details which corresponds with that principle, characteristic of the best Northern Gothic, of complex organization in which each minor part contributes to the vital unity of the

* "The most studious ingenuity," says Mr. Ruskin, with pardonable exaggeration, "could not produce a design for the interior of a building which should more completely hide its extent, and throw away every common advantage of its magnitude, than this of the Duomo of Florence." *Mornings in Florence*, p. 99. Yet there is grandeur in the breadth of its spaces, in the immense span of its vaults, and the extent of its unadorned walls.

whole edifice. The Duomo presents, on the contrary, an assemblage of separate vast features arbitrarily associated, rather than united by any law of mutual relation into a completely harmonious whole. It does not display that lavish wealth of fancy in ever-changing variety and abundance of detail which gives inexhaustible charm to a true Gothic edifice. But it is impressive within from its vast open spaces, and from the stately and simple, though barren, grandeur of its piers and vaults and walls.

The effect of the building from without is imposing from its mass, but, in a near view, it is only on the east that the lines compose into forms of beauty. The front was to have an ornamental façade, richly adorned with sculpture and mosaic. The side walls are incrusted, after the old Tuscan style, with simple rectangular patterns of white and red marble, interrupted by the rich decoration of gable and pinnacle over the doors and windows. It is all gay and exquisite and rich; but without as within there is a lack of fancy, and even the delicate refinement of the inlaying and the carving does not compensate for the absence of noble controlling decorative motives and of harmonious concord of line.*

It is when seen from a distance that the full worth and power of the great cathedral force themselves upon

* The horizontal lines of surface decoration break injuriously upon the vertical lines of the windows, and the forms of the highly ornamented gables are curiously inorganic.

the beholder. Looking down upon Florence from one of the neighboring heights, the beautiful city seems to lie gathered under the shelter of its mighty Duomo. The stretch of its wall is ample for the house in which the whole people shall gather, and, lifting itself above the clustering towers and belfries of palaces and churches, the unrivalled dome crowns the edifice, and with its noble elliptic lines not merely concentrates the scattered forms of the buildings beneath and around it far and near, but to the inward eye seems equally to concentrate all the divergent energies of the historic life of Florence, and lift them along its curves to the foot of the cross upon its heaven-reaching summit. It seems of equal date with the mountains that close the background to the landscape of which it forms the central interest; and they seem to look down upon this work of man as one not unworthy of their guardianship.

The work begun in 1357 was carried forward steadily, but slowly, for the next ten years, when the four bays of the nave approached completion. It was now time to proceed with the construction of the tribunes, and in 1366 and the next two years frequent councils of the Board of Works and of citizens of good understanding and repute were held, at which various plans and models were discussed. The deliberations were long, the diversities of opinion were great, the decision was slow. Near the end of 1368 a conclusion was reached, and work on the eastern tribune, forming the

end of the church in that direction, was begun. Francesco Talenti was still chief master, to be succeeded the next year by his son Simone. But for some years little progress was made, partly owing to the political confusion due to the discord and violence of the parties by which the city was divided, as well as to a bitter war with the Pope, Gregory XI. (1375–78); partly to the fact that the commune from time to time devoted the funds intended for the Duomo to other ends of public advantage, such as the building of the city walls, and the erection, from the design of Orcagna, of the beautiful Loggia de' Lanzi, still one of the chief ornaments of Florence.* The vigorous vitality of the city was apparent in her capacity, in the midst of almost constant civil distraction, thus to continue to strengthen and adorn herself. In 1382 the party of the great family of the Albizzi succeeded in establishing itself as the ruling power in the city, and in obtaining a position which it held, on the whole to the advantage of the State, for the next fifty years, by means of energy, high character, and political courage and intelligence. It is probably not a mere accidental coincidence that almost at once a fresh spirit appears in the building of the cathedral, and that the last years of the fourteenth century and the first years of the fifteenth are marked by records which indicate activity in the construction, and still more in the adornment, of the great edifice. In

* Gaye, *Carteggio*, etc. i. 521, 527. The Loggia de' Lanzi was begun in 1376.

1383 the building of the chapels around the octagonal choir was begun; tracery was inserted in the central round window of the front; and in the next years there were many commissions for sculpture with which the façade and the side portals were to be adorned.

The art of the sculptor was entering on a new development. The spirit of the Renaissance was beginning to find expression in it for those more personal moods and emotions which were characteristic of the change in the moral and intellectual temper of the times. It was still limited in its field mainly to sacred subjects; it was still imperfect in its mastery of its own powers; still hampered by conventional types of representation. Even the genius of Giotto and of Orcagna had not secured for it entire freedom and range of expression. But the work they had done had opened the way of progress, and in the closing years of the fourteenth century the men were born who were to enter in and take possession of the domain of the art with power such as had not been manifest since the time of the Greeks, and with an inspiration fresh, original, springing from sources of which the Greeks had not partaken. The records of the *opera* are filled with commissions for statues of the Madonna and her Child, of apostles, saints, and angels. Most of the works of these years have perished, and their places have been in part taken by the productions of a later time; but the few that remain dis-

play the merit of the precursors of Ghiberti, Donatello, and Luca della Robbia.*

In 1407, nearly forty years after it had been begun, the eastern tribune, with its five chapels, was completed. A more important work was now to be taken in hand.

* Dr. Hans Semper, in his thorough and excellent work *Donatello, seine Zeit und Schule*, Wien, 1875, pp. 49–53, gives a good account of these works.

## IV.—*Continued.*

### *FLORENCE, AND ST. MARY OF THE FLOWER.*

#### II. THE DOME OF BRUNELLESCHI.

In the chapter-house, the so-called Spanish chapel, of Santa Maria Novella is one of the most interesting pictures of the fourteenth century. It has been ascribed, rightly or wrongly is of little consequence, to the great Sienese master Simone Memmi. It represents, in a varied and crowded composition of many scenes, the services and the exaltation of St. Dominic and his order. The artist may well have had in his mind the splendid eulogy of the saint which Dante heard from St. Bonaventura in Paradise. As the type and image of the visible Church, the painter has depicted the Duomo of Florence, not unfinished, as it was at the time, but completed, and representing, we may believe, in its general features, the original project of Arnolfo, although the details are rather in the spirit of the delicate Gothic work of Orcagna's school than in that of an earlier time. The central area of the church is covered by an octagonal dome that rises from a cornice on a level with the roof of the nave, and is adorned at each angle with the figure of an angel.

When the church now, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was approaching completion, this original project of an octagonal dome still seemed the only plan practicable for the covering of the intersection of nave and transept; but the construction of such a work had been rendered vastly more difficult by the immense increase in the original dimensions. The area to be spanned was enormous, for the diameter of the octagon was now about one hundred and thirty-five feet.* The difficulty was the greater from the height of the walls from which the dome must spring. No Gothic builder had vaulted such an area as this. Since the Pantheon was built, no architect had attempted a dome with such a span; and the dome of the Pantheon itself, with a diameter of one hundred and forty-three feet, rose from a wall that was but seventy-two feet in height. The dome of St. Sophia, the supreme work of the Byzantine builders, with the resources of the Empire at their command, had a diameter of but one hundred and four feet, and the height from the ground to its very summit was but one hundred and seventy-nine feet. The records of architecture could not show such a dome as this must be. Where was the architect to be found who would venture to undertake its construction? What were the means he could employ for its execution? Such were the questions that pressed upon

* Lützow, *Meisterwerke der Kirchenbaukunst*, Leipsic, 1871, p. 418, gives the diameter as 135 ft. 2 in.; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, 1867, ii. 321, gives it as 126 ft. The height of the nave is, according to Lützow, 139 ft. 5 in.

those who had the work in charge, and which busied the thoughts of the builders of the time.

While this problem was still unsolved, a work was undertaken by the guardians of the baptistery which was to add a permanent and splendid artistic distinction to the beautiful city that nursed the arts so well, and which, from the circumstances attending it, was to have a decisive influence on the further history of the Duomo.

So long ago as 1329, the Consuls of the Art of Calimala had resolved that three doors of gilded bronze, "the most beautiful that could be," should be made for the baptistery, and had committed the work to the sculptor Andrea Pisano, who, carrying forward the sound traditions of the Pisan school, was deemed "the most valiant, skilful, and judicious master not only in Tuscany, but in all Italy."*

Andrea, aided by his son Nino, made a single door, which still remains one of the most precious works of the art of the fourteenth century, but the others were not completed. Meanwhile the skill in sculpture and in bronze-casting had greatly advanced, in the general rapid progress of the arts; and in 1401 the deputies of the Art of Calimala resolved that the remaining doors should be made, and selected six of the most esteemed artists each to prepare within a year a bass-relief in

* Vasari, *Life of Andrea Pisano*, in Milanesi's edition of the *Vite*, Firenze, 1878, i. 487. In regard to the door made by Andrea, see Semper, *Donatello, seine Zeit und Schule*, p. 19.

bronze, such as might form one compartment of a door, with the promise that the work of all should be paid for, and that to him whose work should be approved as the best the making of the door should be committed. The subject assigned for the competition was the sacrifice of Abraham. Among the artists selected were two youths, Filippo Brunelleschi, then twenty-four years old, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, four years younger, both of whom had already given proof of rare ability, so early did the warm sun of Florence in those days mature the genius of her children. Each had served his apprenticeship as goldsmith, an incomparable training of eye and hand and soul for the higher arts in days when the love of beauty, refining the taste, required exquisite form in personal ornaments, and demanded of the goldsmith that his art should add a worth far beyond their own to gold and jewels.

The competition was keen, and excited a lively interest among the citizens. When the trial pieces were shown, it was plain to all that the choice lay between those of the two young artists. Ghiberti, indeed, in the brief account of his own life which he wrote in later years, says, with characteristic vanity, "The palm of victory was conceded to me by all the experts and by all the competitors; the glory was universally conceded to me without any exception." But the contemporary biographer of Brunelleschi relates that the judges reported to the Board of Works of St. John that both the models were most beautiful, and recommend-

ed that the commission be divided between the two sculptors. However this may have been, and whether or not Brunelleschi, as his biographer says, refused the proposed division, the making of the door was finally, on the 23d of November, 1403, assigned to Ghiberti.*

The two trial pieces still exist and are to be seen in the National Museum in the Palazzo del Podestà at Florence, and the contemporary judgment is confirmed by that of posterity. For while Brunelleschi's piece shows a more imaginative conception and more real-

* Ghiberti, *Secondo Commentario*, § xvi., in the first volume of Le Monnier's Vasari, p. 30. *Vita Anonima di Brunelleschi*, pp. 148–151. Vasari's account of the competition, in his *Life of Ghiberti*, which is repeated essentially in his *Life of Brunelleschi*, is embellished *more suo*, and inaccurate. He makes Donatello one of the competitors, but in 1401 Donatello was a boy of fifteen. See Semper, *Donatello*, p. 231.

The anonymous biography of Brunelleschi was written not long after his death by a contemporary who tells us that he knew him and had spoken with him. It bears the mark of genuineness, but cannot be relied on for complete exactness. It was first published in Florence, in 1812, by the Canonico Domenico Moreni, together with a *Life of Brunelleschi* by Baldinucci, preceded by an essay, by Moreni, on the *Fine Arts in Tuscany*. In another edition of the same year this preliminary essay is omitted; it is to a copy of the latter edition that the citations in the following pages refer.

Moreni says, in his preface, that the anonymous biography was "altogether unknown" to Vasari; but this is an error, for Vasari not only follows it closely in the narration of many facts, but frequently adopts its very words. It is attributed by Gaetano Milanesi to Antonio Manetti, the author of the famous *Novella del Grasso Legnajuolo*, of which Brunelleschi is the hero. See his edition of Vasari's *Lives*, Florence, 1878, tom. ii. p. 329, note.

The Life by Baldinucci is carefully compiled from original sources; but its value has been diminished by the fuller publication of the documents relating to Brunelleschi's life and works, by Signor Cesare Guasti, in *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore illustrata con i Documenti dell' Archivio dell' Opera Secolare*, Firenze, 1857.

istic vigor in the expression and action of the figures than that of his rival, Ghiberti's composition is richer and more harmonious in line, more elegant in detail, and far more skilful in technical execution. In Brunelleschi's work the figures were cast separately, and fastened upon the plate, after the old manner of procedure in bronze-casting; while Ghiberti, eager in invention and quick of wit, had adopted a recent improvement in the art, and cast his work in a single piece, to which he had given an unexampled delicacy of finish.

Brunelleschi, disappointed, but conscious of the defects of his own performance when compared with that of his rival, and still more when compared with the works of the ancients, and filled with the enthusiasm for classic antiquity which was the inspiration of the younger spirits of the time, said to himself, as his contemporary biographer reports, "that it would be well to go where the sculptures are good," and accordingly set out for Rome. He is said to have taken, as his companion, the young Donatello, whose expressive and romantic genius had already displayed itself in work stamped with a clear originality, and whose ardor in the pursuit of art was not less burning and constant than his own.*

* The anonymous biographer and Vasari agree, the latter, however, probably merely repeating the statement of the former, as to Brunelleschi's being accompanied by Donatello. Semper, in his thorough study of Donatello's life, already cited, expresses no doubt of the fact. I prefer to believe rather than to doubt it; but Donatello's name appears in the first agreement made by Ghiberti with the Board of Works of St. John as that of one of the assistants in the work on the door, and reappears in a second agreement made in 1407. See *Com-*

It cannot now be determined, and it is of little importance, whether Brunelleschi's object in going to Rome was as distinctly defined beforehand in his own mind as Vasari declares in the statement that he had two most grand designs—one to bring to light again good architecture; the other to find the means, if he could, of vaulting the cupola of St. Mary of the Flower," an intention of which he said nothing to Donatello or any living soul"—or whether, as the anonymous biographer implies, this object gradually took shape in his thought as he studied the remains of Roman antiquity, acquainting himself with the forms and proportions of classic buildings, and with the unsurpassed methods of Roman construction. But this journey of Brunelleschi and Donatello, that they might learn, and, learning, revive, "the good ancient art," is one of the capital incidents in the modern Renaissance. These were the two men in all Florence, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, of deepest nature, of most various and original genius. They were in little sympathy with the temper of the Middle Ages. For them the charm of its finest moods was lost. The spirit that had given form to Gothic art had always been foreign to Tuscan artists. The traditions of an earlier time had never wholly failed to influence their work. And now the worth and significance of ancient art, first recognized by Niccola Pisano a century and a half earlier, were felt as never

*mentario alla Vita di Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, vol. iii. pp. 128, 129.

before. The work of the scholars of the fourteenth century, in the collection and study of the fragments of ancient culture, was bearing fruit. For a hundred years the progress in letters and the arts in Italy had been quickened by the increasing knowledge of the past, and with each step of advance men had not only felt deeper and more inspiring delight in the ideals of the classic world, but had found more and more instruction in the models which its works presented. Through the creations of the art of former days nature herself was revealed to them in new aspects. Their reverence for the teachings of the ancients was often uncritical and indiscriminate, but the zeal with which they sought them was sincere and invigorating. It was not till a later time, when the first eagerness of enthusiasm had given place to a dry pedantry of investigation, that the study of classic models allured a weaker generation from the paths of nature and independence into those of artificiality and imitation.

Brunelleschi was the first artist to visit Rome with fully open modern eyes. From morning till night, day after day, he and Donatello were at work unearthing half-buried ruins, measuring columns and entablatures, digging up hidden fragments, searching for whatever might reveal the secrets of ancient time. The common people fancied them to be seekers for buried treasure; but the treasure for which they sought was visible only to one who had, like Brunelleschi, as his biographer says, "buono occhio mentale," a clear mental eye.

For many years the greater part of Brunelleschi's life was spent in Rome. He had sold a little farm that he owned at Settignano, near Florence, to obtain the means of living; but, falling short of money after a while, he turned to the art in which he had served his apprenticeship, and gained his livelihood by work as a goldsmith. The condition of Rome at this time was wretched in the extreme. Nothing was left of the dignity of the ancient city but its ruins. There was no settled civic order, no regular administration of law or justice. Life and property were insecure. The people were poor, suffering, and turbulent. Rome was the least civilized city of Italy. Its aspect was as wretched as its condition. Large tracts within its walls were vacant. Its inhabited portions were a labyrinth of filthy lanes. Many churches, built in earlier centuries, were neglected and falling to ruin. There was no respect for the monuments of former times. Many were buried under heaps of the foulest rubbish; many were used as quarries of stone for common walls; many were cumbered by mean buildings, or occupied as strongholds. The portico of the Pantheon was filled with stalls and booths; the arcades of the Colosseum were blocked up with rude structures used for the most various purposes; the Forum was crowded with a confused mass of low dwellings. Ancient marbles, fragments of splendid sculpture, were often calcined for lime. The reawakening interest in antiquity which was inspiring the scholars and artists of Florence, and

which was beginning to modify profoundly the culture and the life of Europe, was not yet shared by those who dwelt within the city which was its chief source, and reverence for Rome was nowhere less felt than in Rome itself.

But the example and the labors of Brunelleschi were opening the way to change. He was the pioneer along a path leading to modern times. In the midst of conditions that must have weighed heavily upon him, he continued the diligent study of the remains of ancient art, investigating especially such structures as the Pantheon and the Baths, for the purpose of learning the methods adopted in their construction.

Meantime his repute was slowly advancing at home, and when, at intervals, he visited Florence, he was consulted in respect to the public and private buildings with which the flourishing city was adorning herself. The work on the Duomo was steadily proceeding. The eastern tribune was finished in 1407; the others were approaching completion. The original plan of a dome springing from the level of the roof of the nave had been recognized as unfit for the larger church. Such a dome would have had too heavy and too low a look. It had been decided that the dome must be lifted above the level of the roof upon a massive octagonal drum; and already in 1417 the *occhi*, or round lights, of the drum were constructing, and the time was close at hand when the structure would be ready for the beginning

of the dome itself.* The overseers of the work were embarrassed by the difficulty of the task by which they were confronted, and knew not how to proceed. If a framework for the centring of the dome were to be built up from the ground, they stood aghast at the quantity of timber required for it, and at the enormous cost, so that it seemed to them well-nigh an impossibility, or, to speak more truly, absolutely impossible.†

The Board of Works sought advice from Brunelleschi. "But if the master builders had seen difficulties, Philip showed them far more. And some one asking, Is there, then, no mode of erecting it? Philip, who was ingenious also in discourse, replied that if the thing were really impossible, it could not be done; but that if it were not so, there ought to be some one in the world who could do the work; and, seeing that it was a religious edifice, the Lord God, to whom nothing was impossible, would surely not abandon it."‡ Further consultations were held, and on May 19, 1417, the *opera* voted to give to Filippo di Ser Brunellesco—"pro bona gratuitate"—for his labor in making drawings and employing himself concerning the cupola, ten golden florins.§

* There is no evidence in regard to the author of the design for the drum from which the cupola should spring, or as to the exact date of the beginning of the work. The anonymous biographer refers to it, *Vita Anonima*, pp. 162, 164, as if Brunelleschi had had nothing to do with it; but so important a piece of construction, and so essential to the effect of the future dome, can hardly have been carried out without Brunelleschi's counsel.

† *Vita Anonima di Brunelleschi*, p. 163. ‡ *Id.* p. 163.

§ For this first payment to Brunelleschi for work relating to the cu-

On the 19th of August of the next year, 1418, notice was given by public proclamation through the city that whoever might wish to make a design or model of the vault of the chief cupola, or of anything pertaining to the manner and perfection of its construction, should do so within the next month; and during this time, should he wish to speak with the authorities in charge of the work, he should be well and graciously heard. And if any one should make a design or model that should be adopted, or in words give advice that should be afterwards followed in the work, he should be recompensed with two hundred golden florins; and if any one should expend labor or make anything for the said object, even though his model were not adopted, his work should be fairly paid for by the Board of Works. The term for the preparation of designs and models was afterwards extended to the 12th of December.* Fifteen models were presented; one of them was by Brunelleschi, one by his old rival, Ghiberti, who was still busy with his long-expected door, the others were by men of less repute from Pisa and Siena, as well as from Florence.

No record remains of the deliberations of the *opera*

pola, see Guasti, *La Cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, Firenze, 1857. Doc. xvi. p. 17.

* It would seem that the models were placed on view within the church itself, and that on the 13th of December a grand council was held for the purpose of examining and considering them. This appears to be Signor Guasti's opinion; but the documentary evidence is not so clear as could be desired. See Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. xv. p. 16; and *Prospetto Cronologico*, p. 191.

concerning these models. The business was of too great moment to be settled offhand. Brunelleschi and Ghiberti were, however, as of old, the real competitors, and during the next year both were employed on new models on a large scale. Brunelleschi called upon Donatello for assistance in his work—a work which was the outcome of those Roman studies in which they had been companions so many years before. Donatello had already shown of what value those studies had been to him by works which displayed not only his mastery of the technical methods of ancient sculpture, but also the influence of its spirit upon his modes of conception. His own clearly defined individual genius had found freedom of expression through the study of nature in the light thrown upon it by the models of classic art. His poetic imagination was deeper than that of Ghiberti, and his conception of character far more vigorous. His works are the embodiments of the spirit of his time; of its longing at once for truth of representation and for absolute beauty; of its mingling of pagan and of Christian conceptions; of its new feeling concerning the life of man; of the conflict between the authority of tradition and the independence of the individual. The mingled emotions and conflicting aims of the Renaissance appear in his figures, even in figures of saints that are but the portraits of his contemporaries. His sculpture is the image of the real life of Florence when her life was richer and deeper than any other in the world. When

he joined Brunelleschi in the preparation of the model of the dome, he had already been much employed in the making of statues for the church, and he had made more than one of the figures which still stand in the niches of Or San Michele.*

Brunelleschi was also assisted by another sculptor, Nanni d' Antonio di Banchi, an artist of little genius, but whose work partook of the inspiration of the time. The model was of brick, and it was intended to show "that there *was* somebody in the world who could do the work that seemed well-nigh an impossibility." For in it Brunelleschi revealed the secret he had won from the study of ancient building—a secret which the Roman builders themselves had not known—that of the way in which the dome might be built without centring. So far as is known, no attempt of the kind had been previously made. It was an invention of Brunelleschi's own bold genius. It was not surprising that even the skilful builders of Florence were incredulous when they first heard of the project.

On the 15th of November, 1419, the Consuls of the Art of Wool, "considering that the time is at hand for providing with all solicitude and diligence for the construction of the cupola, and considering the importance

* In 1415 Donatello and Brunelleschi had been employed together on a statue for the Duomo. Donatello's first commission from the *opera* was as early as 1406. His most famous work, the St. George of the Or San Michele, was probably executed not far from 1420. He was then at the height of his power. See Semper, *Donatello*, pp. 274 seq., 85 seq.

of the work and how much it concerns the honor of the commune and the aforesaid art," appointed four citizens to act, for six months, as "sollicitatores et conductores hedifitii prelibati." The precise nature of the duties of these four citizens is not set forth, but it would seem that their appointment was intended to strengthen the body of officials by whom the momentous decision in regard to the cupola was at length to be made, and to give to it the additional weight of their authority.*

During some months the deliberations and discussions of the Board of Works were frequent and earnest, and it was probably in the course of this time that Brunelleschi presented to the four officials of the cupola a description of the mode in which the dome was to be built according to his model, a paper of special interest in the history of architecture, preserved to us, fortunately, in the pages of the anonymous biographer.† It is a brief, clear, and precise statement. Brunelleschi's design, as set forth in it, was, in fact, to build two octagonal domes, or cupolas, as he termed them, separated by a space wide enough for passage and stair-

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. i. p. 9. The provision for the remuneration of these four citizens is an illustration of a curious custom of honorary recompense — "Providentes insuper, quod dicti quatuor eligendi, in fine eorum offitii, pro aliquali remuneratione habeant et habere debeant a dicta Arte unum ensenium extimationis et valutationis librorum decem solid. parv. pro quolibet ipsorum, in croco pipere, scudellis et aliis, ut est in similibus usitatum" — "a crock of pepper, with platters and other things, as is customary in like cases."

† It is given by Vasari, with some inconsiderable verbal changes, and has been several times reprinted in other works.

ways. The outer dome was to be a shell covering the inner, protecting it from the inclemency of the weather, and, at the same time, securing to the construction more magnificent and swelling lines than would be possible with a single solid dome. The cupolas were to be united by eight strong ribs of masonry at each angle, and by sixteen similar but smaller and concealed ribs on the faces of the vault. Circles of solid masonry, fastened with clamps of tinned iron, and reinforced by iron chains, were to bind the domes at suitable intervals. The ribs and the lower part of each dome were to be made of heavy hewn stone, the upper parts of light stone or brick. The domes were to be built without armature—that is, without support from a framework of wood or iron. They were to diminish in thickness as they rose, and were to terminate at a central eye over which a lantern was to be constructed. The design had been carefully matured, and the paper ends with words of admirable good-sense which might well be inscribed in every architect's book as one of the aphorisms of building—"Above the height of thirty braccia (57.44 feet) let it be built in the way that shall be advised and resolved upon by the masters who shall then be in charge of it, for *in building practice teaches what is to be done.** No more characteristic or remarkable design was produced during the whole period of the Renaissance than this with which its great architectural achievements began. It was the manifesto of

* "Nel murare la pratica insegna quello che si ha da seguire."

a revolution in architecture. It marks an epoch in the art. Such a dome as Brunelleschi proposed to erect had never been built. The great domes of former times—the dome of the Pantheon, the dome of Santa Sophia — had been designed solely for their interior effect; they were not impressive or noble structures from without. But Brunelleschi had conceived a dome which, grand in its interior aspect, should be even more superb from without than from within, and which in its stately dimensions and proportions, in its magnificent lift above all the other edifices of the city of which it formed the centre, should give the fullest satisfaction to the desire common in the Italian cities for a monumental expression of the political unity and the religious faith of their people. His work fulfilled the highest aim of architecture as a civic art, in being a political symbol, an image of the life of the State itself. As such no other of the ultimate forms of architecture was so appropriate as the dome. Its absolute unity and symmetry, the beautiful shape and proportions of its broad divisions, the strong and simple energy of its upwardly converging lines, all satisfied the sentiment of Florence, compounded as it was of the most varied elements, civic, political, religious, and æsthetic.

In March, 1420, the models were once more submitted to popular criticism and judgment. Finally a conclusion was reached, and on the 16th of April the consuls of the Art, the *operarii*, and the four officers of the cupola chose Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Battista

d'Antonio the head master-builders of the Duomo, to oversee and direct the construction of the cupola, at a monthly salary of three golden florins each.*

The Florentine men of business had long since learned the importance, first of choosing capable and trustworthy agents, and then of leaving them unimpeded in the discharge of the duties committed to them. The whole course of procedure in regard to the construction of the cupola indicates the foresight and good judgment of the men who had it in charge. It is a fine exhibition of the high qualities of Florence, at a period when her streets were alive with the varied activities of flourishing commerce, when her people were still confident in their own powers, full of restless

* The words of the vote run as follows: "Nobiles et prudentes viri consules Artis et universitatis Artis lane civitatis Florentie, una cum officio operariorum Opere Sancte Marie del Fiore, et officio quattuor officialium Cupole maioris dicte ecclesie; considerantes, qualiter super novi operis dicte Cupole costructione fuit multoties in diversis temporibus per ipsos officiales Cupole, cum quampluribus ipsius operis intelligentibus magistris et aliis hedificatoribus, praticatum et cum diligentia discussum, et super ipso opere quamplures modelli et alia quamplura facta et ordinata, et super ipso pluribus conclusionibus quamplurium intelligentium intellectis: volentes circa predicta, prout ad presens convenire cognoscunt, providere et ipsi costructioni fiende aliquale principium ordinare . . . providerunt, deliberaverunt atque eligerunt infrascriptos Filippum ser Brunelleschi, Laurentium Bartoluccii, et Batistam Antonii in provisores dicti operis Cupole construendi, et ad providendum, ordinandum, et construi, ordinari, fieri et hedificari faciendum, a principio usque ad finem, ipsam maiorem Cupolam et hedifitium, illis hedefitiis magisteriis muramentis modis formis et condictionibus, et illis sunptibus, et aliis quibuscunque, de quibus et prout et sicut eisdem videbitur convenire et expedire iudicabunt, predicta eorum intelligentie atque prudentie conmictentes usque ad ipsius Cupole perfectionem et conplementum." Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. lxxi. p. 35.

vivacity of mind, and when a group of such artists as the modern world had never seen were ennobling her with the products of the emulous rivalry of their genius. At this time, says the anonymous biographer of Brunelleschi, our city abounded with men of worth—"era copiosa de' valenti uomini." The list of those whom the world still remembers shows the truth of the assertion. In 1420 Brunelleschi was forty-three years old, Ghiberti four years younger; Donatello was now thirty-four, and Fra Angelico near the same age; Luca della Robbia was twenty, and soon to open new and delightful ways for sculpture; Masaccio was an incomparable youth of nineteen, Filippo Lippi a boy of eight or ten. Nor were these all; and, though her genius at this time chiefly displayed itself in the arts, Florence abounded in men of letters of almost equal eminence with her artists.* It was a wonderful assemblage. Each man was stimulated by the work of his fellows to his best achievement, and the community was quick to recognize the powers exerted for its

* Besides the artists mentioned above, there were, among those whose names are still noted, Gentile da Fabriano, born about 1370; Antonio Squarcialupi, the first musician of his time, born in 1380; Michelozzo Michelozzi, who built for Cosmo de' Medici the palace now known as the Palazzo Riccardi, born 1391; Andrea del Castagno, born about 1390; Paolo Uccello, born in 1396. And among the men of letters were many of the most eminent humanists, such as Leonardo Bruni Aretino, scholar and statesman, born in 1369; the universal genius Leon Battista Alberti, born in 1404; and others of less fame, but whose spirits, kindled with the new love of learning, gave lustre to Florence, and whose renown was a part of her glory; such were Giannozzo Manetti, born in 1396; Carlo Aretino, born in 1399; and Matteo Palmieri, born in 1405.

service, and to commend and reward, if also to criticise, their work. Vasari complains that in Florence every man claimed to know in matters of art as much as the skilled masters themselves. "The city has a good eye and a bad tongue, and every one speaks his mind," said Vasari's contemporary, Borghini, the author of *Il Riposo*.* But the artists were the better for this free speaking. Donatello gave as his reason for returning to Florence from Padua, whither he had gone in order to make that noble statue of Gattamelata which is still one of the chief ornaments of the city, that if he stayed there longer he should forget all he knew, so flattered was he by every one; while in Florence he was sure of blame, which would make him work and acquire glory.† Doubtless much of the criticism was mere ignorant carping; but no people, except the Athenian, have ever been so sensitive as the Florentine to the delight of art, or so trained to the study and appreciation of such works as day by day made their city more beautiful.

In the account given by Brunelleschi's anonymous biographer of the transactions relating to the cupola already narrated, the bare outline of events is filled out with many lively strokes of personal delineation. Some of the details which he reports have, indeed, a mythical character, but they add entertainment to the narrative

* In a letter, in 1577, to Buontalenti the architect, in Bottari, *Raccolta di Lettere*, ed. 1822, vol. i. p. 243.

† Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, vol. iii. p. 258.

as well as to its value as a picture of contemporary feeling and belief concerning the execution of the great work in which the interests of the community were engaged. Vasari adopted this narrative without substantial change, adding to it, after his wont, some touches of his own invention, and giving a more modern form to the style. The story as he tells it, after the anonymous biographer, has long been an accepted tradition, and as such is part of the history of the Duomo.*

According to his dramatic version of the facts, Brunelleschi, having for years devoted himself to solving the problem of the cupola, had acquired consideration with the overseers of the work by displaying, on his visits to Florence, an assurance and spirit in his discourse concerning it which other masters did not exhibit, so that at length the Board, having resolved "to see the end of it," wrote to him at Rome, praying him to come to consult with them. As he had long foreseen that they must finally turn to him as the only man who could do the work, and as he had no other desire

* The lack, in Vasari's *Lives of the Artists*, of a critical discrimination between fact and fable, and the carelessness in respect to dates and other details which they often exhibit, detract from their authority. But these defects, due in great part to the literary conditions of the period in which they were written, are more than made up for by Vasari's honest interest in his subject, his zealous collection of such information as he could obtain, and his liveliness as a narrator. Often when incorrect in detail, he is yet true in general effect. Myth and tradition are frequently as important for the correct appreciation of the character of individuals, and of the moral conceptions of a given epoch, as the literal fact. In spite of errors, which may be corrected, and of misjudgments, that may be reversed, his *Lives* will remain an invaluable and unrivalled source of information for all students of Italian art.

than to do it, he at once returned to Florence. And when he had come, the Board of Works of S. Maria del Fiore and the Consuls of the Art of Wool being assembled, they told Philip all the difficulties in regard to the cupola, from the greatest to the least, which were made by the master builders who were there with them in his presence at the audience. Whereupon Philip said these words: "Gentlemen, overseers of the works, doubtless great things are always difficult to accomplish; and if ever anything was difficult, this affair of yours is more difficult than you perchance are aware; for I do not know that even the ancients ever vaulted a vault so terrible as this will be. And I, who have often thought on the armatures required within and without, and what means could be invented so that men could work on it with safety, have never succeeded in solving the difficulty, and I am dismayed not less by the breadth than the height of the building. If, indeed, it could be covered with a spherical dome, the mode might be adopted which the Romans employed in constructing the dome of the Pantheon at Rome; but here we must adopt an eight-sided design, with such joints and bindings of masonry as will be most difficult to execute. But, remembering that this temple is dedicated to God and to the Virgin, I have confidence that we, setting to work in memory of him, He will not fail to infuse knowledge where it falls short, and to supply strength and wisdom and intelligence to whosoever may undertake

the task. But in what can I assist you, the work not being mine?"

Brunelleschi finished his address, according to Vasari's report, by recommending that the best architects, not merely Tuscan and Italian, but German and French, or of whatever nation, should be summoned to meet at Florence to consider and advise how the work might best be accomplished. This counsel pleased the consuls and the Board of Works, and Vasari goes on to tell how the Florentine merchants who were established in France, in Germany, in England, and in Spain were commissioned to obtain from the rulers of those countries the most experienced and valiant geniuses in the land, and to spend whatever sum of money might be needed for sending them to Florence. Much time passed before this could be done; but, at last, in 1420, all these masters from beyond the mountains were assembled in Florence, together with those of Tuscany, and all the ingenious architects of the city, among them Brunelleschi himself. On a certain day they all met at the works of S. Maria del Fiore, together with the consuls and the Board of Works and a choice of the most intelligent citizens, and then one after another spoke his mind as to the mode in which the dome might be built. "It was a fine thing to hear the strange and diverse opinions on the matter." Some advised to build up a structure from the ground to support the cupola while it was in process of building. Others, for the same end, proposed heaping up a high mound of earth,

in which pieces of money should be buried, so that when the work was done the common people would carry away the earth for the sake of what they might find in it. Others, again, urged that the cupola be built of pumice-stone for the sake of lightness. Only Philip said that the dome could be built without any such support of timber or masonry or earth, and was laughed at by all for such a wild and impracticable notion; and, growing hot in the explanation and defence of his plan of construction, and being told to go, but not consenting, he was at last carried by main force from the assembly—"fu portato di peso fuori"—all men holding him stark mad. And Philip was accustomed to say afterwards that he was ashamed at this time to go about Florence, for fear of hearing it said, "See that fool there, who talks so wildly." The overseers of the work were distracted by the bewildering diversity of councils, and "Philip, who had spent so many years in studies for the sake of having this work, knew not what to do, and was oftentimes tempted to depart from Florence. Yet, wishing to win his object, he armed himself with patience, as was needful, having so much to endure, for he knew the brains of that city never stood long fixed on one resolve. Philip might have shown a little model which he had below, but he did not wish to show it; being aware of the small understanding of the consuls, the envy of the workmen, and the little stability of the citizens, who favored now this, now that, according to their pleasure. What, then, Philip had not been able to do

in the assembly he began to try with individuals; and, speaking now to this consul, now to this member of the Board of Works, and in like wise to many citizens, showing them part of his design, he brought them to determine to assign the work either to him or to one of the foreigners. Whereby the consuls and the Board of Works and the citizens being encouraged, they caused a new assembly to be held, and the architects disputed of the matter; but they were all beaten down and overcome by Philip with abundant reasons. And here it is said that the dispute about the egg arose in this manner." The other architects urged him to explain his scheme in detail, and to show them the model he had made of the structure; but this he refused, and finally proposed to them that the man who could prove his capacity by making an egg stand on end on a smooth bit of marble should build the cupola. To this they assented. All tried in vain; and then Philip, taking the egg and striking it upon the marble, made it stand. The others, offended, declared they could have done as much. "Ay," said Philip, "and so, after seeing my model, you could build the cupola."

It was accordingly resolved that he should have charge of the conduct of the work, and he was directed to give fuller information concerning his plans to the consuls and Board of Works.* He according-

* This myth of the egg is not in the *Vita Anonima*, and the author gives another account of the preparation of the written statement. Vasari may have borrowed the illustration from the story told of Columbus.

ly, going home, wrote off a statement which he presented the next morning to the assembly of officials, "and although they were incompetent to judge of it, yet, seeing Philip's readiness of mind, and that none of the architects marched so boldly as he—'non andava con miglior gambe'—for he showed himself as sure of what he said as if he had already built ten cupolas, they proposed to give it to him, but first desired to see, by experiment on a small scale, how the vaulting could be done without armature, for in all other respects they approved his design. In this respect fortune was favorable," for, as Vasari goes on to relate, Brunelleschi was at this time engaged in building a chapel in the Church of Santa Felicità, and another in Santo Jacopo sopr' Arno, in both of which he showed how what he proposed could be done. Thus assured, the overseers of the work assigned to him the building of the cupola to the height of twelve braccia,* not binding themselves to more before they saw how the work would succeed. To this Philip agreed, though disappointed at the condition imposed. When the artists and the citizens learned that the work had been committed to Philip, to some it seemed well, to others ill; and a party was formed among them who remonstrated with the consuls and the Board of Works, representing that "such a work ought not to be intrusted to a single person, and that if there were a lack of com-

* A Florentine braccia equals very nearly 1 foot 11 inches, exactly 1.9148 feet, or met. 0.5835.

petent men, while in truth there was abundance of them, the decision might be excused; but that it did not comport with the honor of the city, seeing that if any misfortune were to happen, such as sometimes occurs in building, they would be blamed as having given too heavy a charge to one man, without consideration of the harm and shame that might result from it to the public, and that, therefore, in order to curb the ardor (*furore*) of Philip, it were well to associate some one with him in the work." Accordingly, Ghiberti and Battista d' Antonio were appointed as his associates. "What despair and bitterness took possession of Philip, on learning of this, may be known from the fact that he was on the point of flying from Florence; and if it had not been for Donato and Luca della Robbia, who comforted him, he would have gone distracted."

There is, doubtless, a large foundation of truth in the representation by his biographers of the scepticism with which Brunelleschi's unheard-of and astonishing project was received, and of the difficulty with which he overcame the opposition to his scheme.* The biog-

* Among the persons who were paid for their work or advice concerning the cupola in April, 1420, was Messer Giovanni di Gherardo of Prato. He received three florins, while Donatello and Pesello, the well-known painter, had but one. In the same vote by which Brunelleschi and his two associates were appointed overseers of the construction of the dome he was chosen as second substitute, Pesello being the first, in case either of the three should resign or be removed by death or other circumstance. He was at this time the public reader of Dante at the University of Florence, a position which he held from 1417 till 1425. He had no faith in Brunelleschi's design, and addressed a scurrilous sonnet to him, in ridicule of the project, which gives no

raphers may also be trusted in their representation of the eagerness with which Ghiberti's claim to share in the work on equal terms was urged, and of the intense spirit of partisanship displayed by the adherents of each master. There were division of opinion and hot dispute among the citizens at large, as well as among the members of the Art of Wool. "The city kept the feeling about the bronze doors"—teneva dello umore delle porte di bronzo—is the expressive phrase of the anonymous biographer. The old rivalry had slept for eighteen years, but now blazed up with more than its ancient heat. Brunelleschi and his friends might well resent the pretensions of Ghiberti. What experience had he as an architect, what study had he given to the problems of construction involved in the

evidence that the poetic style of the author had been affected by the study of the Divine Comedy. It begins—

"O fonte fonda e nizza d' ignoranza,
Pauper animale et insensibile,"

and goes on to say that no man can do the impossible, as Brunelleschi is attempting to do—Brunelleschi, who knows neither how to design nor to construct;

"Che poco sai ordire e vie men tessere."

To this Brunelleschi replied in a sonnet that opens with a fine verse that reminds one of Michelangelo:

"Quando dall' alto ci è dato speranza,"

"When from on high we are inspired with hope, man becomes capable of achieving things not possible to unassisted human powers, and thus what seems impossible to a dull creature like Giovanni shall yet come to pass." In 1426 Giovanni di Gherardo addressed a remonstrance to the Board of Works in regard to the mode of construction adopted by Brunelleschi. This remonstrance and the sonnets have been edited and illustrated by Guasti, in his *Belle Arti. Opuscoli Descrittivi e Biografici*, Florence, 1874, pp. 107–129.

work at hand, to justify the notion that he was competent to perform it? But Ghiberti and his party were too strong to be resisted, and Brunelleschi was compelled to stifle his indignation at having his rival associated with him at an equal salary, and with the prospect of dividing with him the credit of an achievement which would belong rightfully wholly to himself. He was not of a temper, however, to yield to discouragement. He had reached the point of desire of many years; and though he missed the complete fulfilment of hope, he might trust that what was amiss in the beginning would be righted in the progress of the undertaking.

On the day of his appointment and that of his two associates, eight master builders were also chosen for the work. Preparations for building were at once begun. The necessary materials were collected; frameworks and stagings were constructed; and on the 7th of August, in the morning, the masons were set to work, the sum of three lire nine soldi and four denari being spent for a cask of red wine, a flask of Trebiano, bread, and melons, for a collation to celebrate the event.* The work, once begun, was steadily prosecuted. Brunelleschi's active genius employed itself not only in the general oversight, but in attention to every detail. He invented a new and more serviceable machine for hoisting the materials from the ground to the great height to which they had to be

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 239, p. 85. "*Trebbiano*, a kind of precious wine in Italie." Florio, *Worlde of Wordes*.

raised;* he selected the clay and devised new moulds for the bricks used in construction;† he visited the quarries from which stone was brought, and directed the quarrying and the transport of the blocks;‡ he made models for the castings that were required, and was ready with inventive wit to meet every difficulty in construction as it arose, for, as he had said, "la pratica insegnò quella che si ebbe da seguire."

On the 7th of July, 1422, the day of the vigil of St. John Baptist, the walls of the cupola had risen so high that they were illuminated in celebration of the feast, and lifted for the first time that circlet of light over the city which, seen in the night from Fiesole or San Miniato, looks like the crown of the fair city reposing in the darkness below. § In the course of 1423, Brunelleschi made a model of the great chain of timber and iron which was to gird and resist the thrust of the inner dome; and for this model of one of the essential features of his design, and one of his most ingenious devices, he received a gratuity from the *opera* of one hundred golden florins.‖ The building of the chain was not, however, begun till two years later, and Brunelleschi determined not to lose the opportunity it afforded to exhibit

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 123 seq. pp. 58 seq. "Nessuna cosa fu quantunque difficile e aspra, la quale egli non rendesse facile e piana; e lo mostrò nel tirare i pesi per via di contrapesi e ruote, che un sol bue tirava quanto arebbono appena tirata sei paia." Vasari, iii. 220.

† Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 169, p. 69.

‡ *Id.* Doc. 109, p. 53. § *Id.* Doc. 240, p. 85.

‖ In *La Metropolitana Fiorentina Illustrata*, Firenze, 1820, Tavola vii., a profile and a plan of a section of the chain are given.

Ghiberti's incompetence and to get rid of him as an associate.* The workmen had come to depend entirely on Brunelleschi's directions, and without them were unable to proceed. Aware of this, Brunelleschi, as his anonymous biographer reports, one morning stayed in bed, feigning illness and complaining of severe pain in the side, so that he had hot cloths and other remedies applied. In his absence from the works, where he always was wont to be the first-comer, the workmen were at a loss what to do, and, in their perplexity, resorted to Ghiberti for instructions. He, unable to direct them, bade them seek directions from Philip, but Philip made believe to be too ill to see them, and things went so far that the works came in great part to a stop, whereat there was confusion enough at the *opera*. The friends of Philip said, "Surely Lorenzo is here. If Philip is ill, it is not his fault; no one regrets it more than he." And those of the other side charged Philip with pretending to be ill because he repented of having entered on the undertaking, and would fain find excuse to be rid of it. After some days, Philip, with apparent difficulty, went to the office of the works, and said that this might happen again to him if God willed, or even to Lorenzo, and that it were well, in view of this chance, that the charge of the special works to be done should be divided, so that if either of them were incapacitated the work should not come to a stop. He went on to say

* "Filippo fece pensiero se con industria e' si poteva levare da dosso Lorenzo." *Vita Anonima*, p. 175.

that there were now two things pressing to be done—one, the scaffolds for the workmen in rounding the cupola, and the oversight of the masonry; the other, the chain to gird it—and that Lorenzo might take in charge either he chose. Lorenzo was obliged to assent to this suggestion, and chose the making of the chain, because there was one in the cupola of the baptistery which he thought he could imitate. To this Philip made no objection, and Ghiberti proceeded to direct the construction of a chain. When the work was finished, Philip, seeing that it was good for nothing, showed to the Board of Works that it would not answer its purpose, so that they resolved it should be done away with, and Philip was ordered to make the chain according to his own design.*

The fact of the exposure, about this time, of the incompetence of Ghiberti receives confirmation from the records. The salaries of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti had run on for five years at the rate at which they had been originally fixed; but on the 28th of June, 1425, a vote was passed by the Board of Works that Ghiberti's salary should cease from the first day of the coming July. Now this vote, read in the light of the story, is in curiously close relation with an entry in the records on the preceding 6th of June, of the cost of wine bought for the masters and workmen of the *opera* "when the chain was begun." It is a fair inference that the stop-

* *Vita Anonima*, pp. 175–178. Vasari repeats the story after the earlier biographer, with some characteristic amplifications, vol. iii. pp. 214–219.

page of his salary was the result of Ghiberti's failure in the execution of the chain. The next January, indeed, his salary was renewed at the old rate, of three florins a month, on condition that he should spend at the works at least one hour of every working day, while that of Brunelleschi was increased almost threefold—to one hundred florins a year, on condition that he should give his whole time to the edifice.* This arrangement continued till 1432, when Ghiberti's salary ends, and his connection with the work apparently comes to a close.†

* The retention of Ghiberti on the work may have been a piece of policy to prevent his active opposition, and to secure the voices of his friends. In 1424 the door for the baptistery, on which he had been at work so long, was completed and set in place. It received general and just admiration, and confirmed his repute as the first master of his art. The account which he gives at the end of his *Second Commentary* of his share in the building of the dome is neither candid nor correct, and its arrogant tone indicates the disposition of the man. "Few things of importance have been done in our city which were not designed or ordered by my hand. And specially in the building of the tribune [cupola] Philip and I were associates [*concorrenti*] for eighteen years at the same salary." Vasari, ed. Le Monnier, vol. i. p. xxxvii. The true statement would have been "associates for twelve years, and during the first five our salaries were the same, while during the remaining years mine was little more than a third of his."

The difficulty of establishing a correct chronology for the lives of the artists, for which Vasari, with his indifference to exactness, is our chief authority, is increased by the carelessness of editors. In a note in his new edition of Vasari, Florence, 1878, tomo ii. p. 358, Milanesi states that Ghiberti continued to be the associate of Brunelleschi in the work of the cupola till June, 1446. But Brunelleschi died in April of that year, and Ghiberti's connection with the work had terminated fourteen years previously. Milanesi adds to the confusion by going on to state that Brunelleschi was chosen sole overseer of the cupola in 1443. In that year he was appointed sole overseer of the *lantern* which was to be erected upon the dome. He had long been sole overseer of the cupola.

† Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 74, p. 38; Doc. 242, p. 85; Doc. 75–84, pp. 38–45.

Towards the end of the year 1425, in January (it is to be remembered that the Florentine year began in March), Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, together with one of the Officials of the Cupola and the head-master of the works, united in an important report to the Board, as to the work in progress and that which was to be next undertaken. It is plain from it that the difficulties of building such a vault without centring were increasing as the curve ascended. On the inner side of the vault a parapet of planks was to be made, to protect the scaffolding and to cut off the sight of the masters from the void beneath them, for their greater security. "We say nothing of centring," say the builders, "not that it might not have given greater strength and beauty to the work," which may well be doubted, "but, not having been started with, a centring would now be undesirable, and could hardly be made without armature, for the sake of avoiding which the centring was dispensed with at the beginning."* Brunelleschi's genius was sufficient to overcome all the difficulties met with in accomplishing the bold experiment which he had devised, and which in its kind still remains without parallel.

Many entries in the records afford a lively impression of scenes and incidents connected with the build-

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 75, p. 38. The vote in which this report is included was first printed by Nelli, *Piante ed Alzati di S. Maria del Fiore*, Firenze, 1765; afterwards in the *Vita di Filippo di Ser Brunellesco*, by Baldinucci, ed. Moreni, Firenze, 1812, and again in *La Metropolitana Fiorentina*, Firenze, 1820.

ing. With all the precautions that could be taken, the exposure of the workmen to the risk of falling was great. Two men were thus killed in the first year of the work. As the dome rose, the danger increased; and a provision was made that any of the masters or laborers who preferred to work below might do so, but at wages one quarter less. Brunelleschi, finding that, owing to the vast height of the edifice, the builders lost much time in going down for food and drink, arranged a cook-shop, and stalls for the sale of bread and wine, in the cupola itself. Thenceforth no one was allowed to go down from his work oftener than once a day. But the supply of wine in the cupola caused a new danger, and an order was issued by the Board that, "considering the risks which may daily threaten the master masons who are employed on the wall of the cupola, on account of the wine that is necessarily kept in the cupola, from this time forth the clerk of the works shall not allow any wine to be brought up which has not been diluted with at least one third of water." But the workmen were reckless, and amused themselves, among other ways, in letting themselves and each other down on the outside of the dome in mere sport, or to take young birds from their nests, till at length the practice was forbidden by an order of the Board.

So year by year the work went on; the walls slowly rounding upwards. During the first years of the building of the dome, Florence was enjoying a period of unwonted peace and prosperity. She was tranquil at

home, and without war abroad. Her trade was flourishing, and her commerce extending. But in 1423 the encroachments of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan forced a war upon her, which, beginning with disaster, soon told with terrible effect upon her resources and her spirit. It was, indeed, carried on, for the most part, with mercenary troops, and cost the city far more in money and in honor than in the blood of her people. The republic had lost the art of defending herself with the strong arm of her own children. She had become dependent upon hireling soldiery; and such dependence, sign as it was of the decline of public spirit and of private character, was a forerunner of the long series of political calamities which was to end in her fall. The burden of the war pressed heavily upon all classes, especially upon the poor. The taxes became heavier and heavier; forced loans were resorted to; in 1425 many of the leading bankers and merchants were compelled to fail; the revenues of the *opera* of the Duomo fell off, and in April, 1426, it was resolved to dismiss twenty-five out of forty-three master builders employed, and to diminish other expenses of the work.* Peace was made in 1428. A new and more equitable system of taxation had been adopted, and the city began to rejoice in the return of prosperity. But the breathing-spell was short. One war was scarcely ended before another began. In 1430 the Florentines were besieging their beautiful neighbor Lucca, and distressing her territory with even

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 220, p. 81.

more than the usual barbarity of war in which the soldiers were mere hired ruffians. "At this time there was in Florence," says Machiavelli, "an eminent architect, named Philip di Ser Brunellesco, of whose works our city is full, so that he deserved that after his death his image in marble should be placed in the chief temple of Florence, with an inscription beneath, which still, to such as read it, bears witness of his virtues. He showed how Lucca might be overflowed, taking into consideration the site of the city and the bed of the river Serchio, and finally induced the Ten* to order that the attempt be made. From which proceeded naught but confusion to our camp, and security to the enemy."† Brunelleschi might better have kept to his own work, to which he returned on the 12th of June, after an absence of a hundred days. His failure in the field did him no service in Florence;‡ Ghiberti remained always jealous; and there were always people about, says the anonymous biographer, "who made a circle," or, in modern phrase, "a ring," and gave him much trou-

* The Ten elected commissioners in charge of the war—"i Dieci della Guerra."

† Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. iv. § 23.

‡ Giovanni Cavalcanti, the fair-minded and trustworthy contemporary chronicler of these times, writes, "Egli ebbono alcuni nostri fantastichi, intra quali fu Filippo di Ser Brunellesco, i quali consigliorno con la loro geometria falsa e bugiarda, non in se, ma nell' altrui ignoranza, mostrorno che la città di Lucca si poteva allagare;" quoted by Gervinus, *Geschichte der florentinischen Historiographie*, p. 78. Poggio, in his *Hist. Florentini Populi*, lib. vi., in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xx. p. 363, gives a clear account of the project of Brunelleschi—"maximo omnium ejus tempestatis architecto"—and of its failure.

ble with their continual gossip and false reports, sowing dissatisfaction among the master workmen. The result was a strike among the masters for higher wages, whereupon, one Saturday night, Philip dismissed them all, to the number of forty masters and apprentices, and engaged eight or ten Lombard masons in their place. The strikers, finding that they were not indispensable to the construction, as they had fancied, and lamenting the loss of their places, made humble submission, and, after eleven weeks, thirty-nine of them were taken again upon the works.*

Although they were engaged in such costly undertakings abroad, and the war went against them, yet the Florentines, as Machiavelli says, "did not fail to adorn their city." The work on the Duomo was now actively pushed forward. The second chain to resist the thrust of the inner cupola was constructed, and in 1432 the dome had reached such a height that Brunelleschi was ordered to make a model of the closing of its summit, and also a model of the lantern that was to stand on it, in order that full consideration might be given to the work, and due provision for it made in advance. Two years more passed, years in which the city was busied with public affairs of great concern both at home and abroad, when at length, on the 12th of June, 1434,

* The story first told by the anonymous writer, p. 180, is retold with more detail by Vasari, pp. 218, 219, and is confirmed by two documents of December 12 and February 27, 1430 (Florentine style), in Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., p. 83.

just fourteen years from its beginning, the cupola closed over the central space of the Duomo.* It had grown slowly, marvellous in the eyes of all beholders, who saw its walls rise curving over the void without apparent support, held suspended in the air as if by miracle. Brunelleschi's fame was secure; henceforth his work was chief part of Florence. But though the cupola had reached its wished-for end—"devenisse ad optatum finem sue clausure"—something remained still to be done upon it for its perfect completion, and other work was required to bring the whole church into fit condition for public use, which was now ardently desired by the people of the city. The *opera*, therefore, determined to cover the roofs of the tribunes with lead, to make some necessary repairs in the walls of the older part of the church, and to build anew certain chapels on each side of the nave, before proceeding with the erection of the lantern above the dome.†

In the early summer of 1434, the Pope, Eugenius IV., flying from enemies in Rome, was received with great ceremony and display at Florence. A residence was

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., p. 199. The date is from Cambi, *Storia Fiorentina*, p. 188. Migliore, in his *Firenze Illustrata*, 1684, p. 13, gives the date as 12th of January, but this seems a typographical error; see Guasti, Doc. 260, p. 90. Considering the size and the difficulty of the work, the time employed on its construction proves the diligence with which it had been carried on. In the trustworthy *Notizie e Guida di Firenze* [da P. Thouar ed E. Repetti], 1841, the height of the cupola is stated at 61 Florentine braccia, which equals 116.80 English ft.; the height of its spring from the pavement is 93 braccia, or 178.07 ft., making the total height to its summit about 295 ft.

† Guasti, *Id.* Doc. 259, p. 89.

assigned to him in the conventual buildings attached to Sta. Maria Novella, and here the papal court was for the time established, and new interests and new picturesqueness were added to the crowded and various activities of Florentine life. The Pope, grateful for the treatment he received from the authorities of State and for the honors paid him by the citizens, desired to make such return as was in his power. He bestowed the Rose of Gold* on St. Mary of the Flower, and he willingly undertook, at the request of the republic, to perform in person the ceremony of the consecration of the church on the Feast of the Annunciation, the Florentine New-year's-day, the 25th of March, 1436. From the portal of Sta. Maria Novella to the wide steps of Sta. Maria del Fiore, a distance of more than a quarter of a mile, a platform was erected, raised about four feet from the ground, and about eight feet in width. An awning of blue and white cloth, the colors of the Pope, was stretched above it, and the posts by which the awning was supported were festooned with boughs of myrtle and olive, fir and cypress. The floor of the platform was carpeted, and its sides hung with tapestries. Along this decorated way, in view of a vast concourse of citizens and strangers, who occupied windows and roofs,

* On the fourth Sunday of Lent, the Pope, in going to and returning from church, carries in his hand a golden rose, which used afterwards to be given to the most noble and powerful personage of his court. In later custom it has been common to bestow it as a mark of grace on monarchs and others in high station. Durandus gives a long account of the mystical and allegorical significance attaching to it. See his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. vi. cap. 53, num. 8.

and lined the streets, gay with festal adornments, the Pope, in his pontifical robes, proceeded with splendid pageant to the cathedral. Before him was borne the cross, behind him came cardinals and bishops, and the whole Court of Rome, prelates and ambassadors from foreign states, and the Signory and high officers of Florence. The city had seldom witnessed so magnificent a display. The liking for such shows, and the art to set them forth with dignity and splendor, were characteristic features of the period.

The ceremony of consecration is one of the most impressive of the stately and solemn offices of the Roman Church. Its symbolic forms, full of a significance that appeals directly to the imagination, are invested with associations that touch the deepest Christian sentiment. The consecration of the visible edifice is the type of the union of the mystic bride with her Lord. Three times does the consecrating prelate, bishop or pope as he may be, knock with his pastoral staff at the closed door, saying, "Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales: et introibit Rex gloriæ." Then a voice from within asks, "Quis est iste Rex gloriæ?" And the answer is returned in the words of the psalm, "Dominus fortis et potens;" and to the repeated question, answer is made again, "Dominus virtutum ipse est Rex gloriæ."* Then the

* "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty. . . . The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory." *Psalm* xxiv. 7–10; in the Vulgate, *Psalm* xxiii.

doors are thrown wide open, and the bishop, entering, says, "Pax huic domui, et omnibus habitantibus in ea," thus signifying that peace which Christ wrought between God and man.

On this great day for Florence the cathedral was decorated with unusual lavishness and splendor. The Pope consecrated and blessed the high-altar, and the Cardinal Orsini anointed the twelve crosses painted upon the four walls, before each of which twelve candles were burning. With symbolic rites, and with prayer, with chant and procession, the service lasted for five hours. But this was not all; the consecration was followed by another ceremony in curious contrast—contrast characteristic of the temper of the time—to the sacred offices just concluded. The Pope, with intent to pay still more honor to the city whose support was of great importance to him, desired that the order of knighthood should be conferred in his presence, within the church, upon the Gonfalonier of Florence, Giuliano Davanzati. The ceremony was duly performed, and the Pope, after the arming of the knight, clasped with his own hand the collar of knighthood around his neck, "a thing never before done to any citizen." Then the Cardinal of Venice said mass, and finally the Pope gave his blessing to the people, conceding to them, and to whosoever thenceforth, on the anniversary of that feast, should hear high mass within the Duomo, seven years and seven times forty days of indulgence. That night the Gonfalonier gave a grand banquet in the palace, and

the Signory, in recognition of the favors received from the Pope, voted "to give to him fourteen prisoners of importance."*

At the time of the consecration of the cathedral, Cosimo de' Medici was the chief man in the Florentine commonwealth. His recall from exile in 1434 had been followed by the banishment or death of the prominent leaders of the party opposed to him in the State, and from this period till his death, in 1464, his influence and authority were predominant in public affairs. He was now in the prime of life. His character was strong and reserved, his will resolute, his intelligence clear and receptive. The fervent spirit common to the men of the Renaissance was tempered in him by the solid common-sense of the Florentine burgher, and by early training in the business of his father's bank. He had been carefully educated, and was endowed by nature with a taste for learning and a powerful memory. He was the rich-

* For the account of the procession, see the eye-witness Vespasiano da Bisticci's description in his memoir of Eugenius IV., in his *Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV.* These *Lives* by the bookseller Vespasiano are one of the most precious books of the century. There is no other that brings us so closely face to face with the men of Florence. The simplicity and candor of Vespasiano's character appear in his narratives. The book affords many illustrations of the literary aspect of the early Renaissance. Unfortunately, Vespasiano seems to have cared little for the arts except those connected with book-making, such as calligraphy, illumination, and binding. But the student of the fine arts of the Renaissance will find much of incidental interest in Vespasiano's pleasant pages, See also, in regard to the consecration, Ammirato, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. xxi., ed. 1826, tomo vi. p. 245, and Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. v. § 15. In regard to the release of prisoners, see *ante*, pp. 134, 215.

est man in Italy, but he was not less liberal in the use than skilful in the acquisition of wealth. His habit of thought was grave; he was the friend of scholars and artists; and no man in his time did more to stimulate the zeal for the acquisition of new learning, or to promote the works by which the dignity and the beauty of Florence were increased. During the stay of Pope Eugenius in the city, Cosimo, at his suggestion, undertook to rebuild the Convent of St. Mark, and employed Michellozzi, a man of genius, second only as an architect to Brunelleschi, for the work. On the walls of this convent Fra Angelico painted his famous frescos, and fifty years later one of its cells was occupied by Savonarola.*

It was about this time that Cosimo, having rejected a plan for a palace designed for him by Brunelleschi, as too sumptuous and magnificent for a private citizen, set Michelozzi to building that famous palace, still one of the noblest in Florence, which, according to Vasari, deserves the more praise because it was the first in that city built in the modern style with appropriate distribution of apartments.† On the ornaments of this

* Vespasiano, who was well acquainted with Cosimo, and who, in his *Lives*, has drawn an extremely interesting, life-like, and attractive portrait of him, represents this work as undertaken by Cosimo to relieve his conscience from the burden of ill-gotten wealth. Vespasiano's account of his various pious buildings, and of the collection of books with which he supplied more than one convent library, is both entertaining and instructive.

† Vasari, *Life of Michelozzo Michelozzi*, iii. 272. This palace passed, in the seventeenth century, into the hands of the Riccardi family, by whom it was enlarged, and it has since been known as the Palazzo Riccardi.

palace Donatello was employed, and the walls of its chapel were painted by Benozzo Gozzoli with a series of beautiful pictures representing the Journey of the Wise Men of the East, in which may still be seen the portraits of Cosimo and other famous men of the time. Cosimo kept builders, sculptors, and painters well employed, and his example was followed by many of the rich citizens. The arts were seldom busier in Florence, their chief modern workshop, than in these years.*

Not long after the consecration of the Duomo, the work on the cupola was completed,† and on the 30th

* In 1426–27 it seems probable that Masaccio was painting his epoch-making pictures, "the first of the modern style," in the Capella Brancacci; in 1432 Ghiberti, still at work on his second door, designed the great tabernacle for the altar in the *Uffizio* of the Art of Flax-dressers, which the next year was painted by Fra Angelico, "di dentro e di fuori, co colori oro, azzurro et arieto, de' migliori et più fini che si truovino, con ogni sua arte et industria." See the memorandum of contract in Gualandi, *Memorie Originali risguardanti le Belle Arti*, ser. iv. p. 110. Bologna, 1843. The tabernacle "painted within and without" is now in the Uffizi Gallery. In 1434 Filippo Lippi was painting for the high-altar of Sant' Ambrogio that most lovely "Coronation of the Virgin" now in the Academy, and known by its portrait of the painter and the angel with the scroll bearing the words *Is perfecit opus*. In these years Donatello was busy with tender figures for tombs, and with statues for the Duomo and the Campanile. In 1437 Luca della Robbia was working on his bass-reliefs, beautiful in design and execution, for the Campanile. In 1436 Paolo Uccello was painting his big equestrian portrait of Giovanni Acuto—the adventurer John Hawkwood—on the wall of the Duomo. Such were some of the works going on; many scarcely less beautiful or less interesting, done in these years, have perished or have dropped from memory. The great moments in history—and there have been but few of them—are those when a people has much to express, and finds expression for itself by means of artists sympathetic with its higher moods, and capable of giving to them just utterance.

† In 1434 a commission was given to Donatello and Luca della Robbia to make, each of them, a head in clay, "prout eis et cuilibet eorum

of August, 1436, the Bishop of Fiesole, attended by clergy and people, mounted to the dome in order to bestow upon it a solemn benediction. Among the entries in the journal of expenses of the *opera* is one for money spent on that day for a gift to the bishop, and "for trumpeters and fifers, wine, bread, meat, fruit, cheese and macaroni, and other things,"* given to the masters and workmen, and to the canons and priests, for the celebration of this feast and benediction.

It was just after the completion of the dome that Leon Battista Alberti, the most universal genius and the most accomplished man of his age, one who represented in clearest traits the spirit of the Renaissance, was restored to Florence, whence his family had long been banished. The close of his exile was a result of the revolution accomplished by the return of Cosimo de' Medici in 1434. The impression which the works accomplished by the living generation of Florentine artists made upon this son of Florence born in exile, who till his thirtieth year had never entered his ancestral city, was very deep, and it finds striking and memorable expression in the dedication to Brunelleschi of his treatise on Painting which was written in the year 1436.† "I have been accustomed," says Alberti, in this

videbitur melius et pulcrius," to serve as a model for a head to be cut in stone to be set "in gula clausure cupole magne." Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 252, p. 88.

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 261, p. 90.

† *Della Pittura di Leon Battista Alberti Libri Tre*, of which the last and best edition is that of Janitschek, No. XI. of the series of *Quellen-*

dedication, in words that breathe the feeling of the Renaissance, "both to wonder and to grieve that so many supreme and divine arts and sciences, which, alike from their works and from history, we see to have abounded in those most highly endowed ancients, were now lacking and almost utterly lost. And, indeed, hearing from many that this was the case, I thought that Nature, mistress of all things, now grown old and weary, even as she no longer brought forth giants, in likewise no longer produced geniuses such as those most ample and marvellous spirits which she produced in her youthful and more glorious days.

"But since I have been restored, after long exile, in which I, Alberti, have grown old, to this our native land, that surpasseth all others in her adornment, I have recognized in many, but chiefly in thee, Philip, and in our near friend Donato the sculptor, and in those others, Nencio and Luca and Masaccio, genius capable for every praiseworthy work, not inferior to that of any ancient and famous master in the arts.* Wherefore I perceived that in our own industry and diligence, not less than in the kindness of nature and of the ages, lay the power of acquiring praise for every excellence. I acknowledge, indeed, that as it was less difficult for the ancients,

*schriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, herausgegeben von R. Eitelberger v. Edelberg. Wien, 1877.

* Nencio was the familiar name of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and this easy reference to him is pleasant as showing that whatever bitterness of feeling may have existed between him and Brunelleschi, it did not render the expression of admiration for him difficult in words addressed to the great architect. Luca is Luca della Robbia.

having abundant supply of teachers and of models, to rise to the knowledge of those supreme arts which are to-day most laborious for us, even so much the greater should be our fame if we, without preceptors and without examples, invent arts and sciences unheard of and never before seen. Who is so unfeeling or so envious that he would not praise Pippo (Brunelleschi), the architect, beholding here a structure so grand, lifted to the heavens, ample to cover with its shadow the whole Tuscan people, erected without aid of framework or multitude of timbers—a work of art in truth, if I judge rightly, such as, deemed incredible in these times of ours, was neither conceived nor known by the ancients? But there will be another place for reciting thy praises and the virtue of our Donato, and of the others most dear to me by their ways. Do thou only persevere in inventing as thou dost from day to day things by which thy marvellous genius shall acquire perpetual fame and name, and if perchance some leisure shall fall to thee, it will please me shouldst thou look over this little book of mine on painting, which, inscribed to thee, I have written in the Tuscan tongue."

The early part of the fifteenth century has not left us a more interesting record than this of personal relations, or a better illustration of the disposition of the age, and of contemporary criticism upon its chief productions.

The completion of the cupola was not the completion of Brunelleschi's work. Upon the cupola was

to stand the lantern, that was to form the proper summit of the whole vast edifice, and on the proportions and design of which the effect of the dome itself would be greatly dependent. The Board of Works had long had Brunelleschi's model in their hands, and can scarcely have doubted that he was the man to put the crown upon his own work; but the busy circle of critics and rivals was to be considered, and, if possible, conciliated. The familiar means was adopted of asking for models from all such persons as might desire to make one, and of exhibiting them to the public. "All the masters who were in Florence," says Vasari, "after seeing Filippo's model, set to work to make one, and even a woman of the house of Gaddi ventured into the competition." The *opera* gave notice that all the models must be ready by the 15th of September of this year, 1436; and at that time five models, besides that of Brunelleschi, were presented, one of them by Ghiberti, who could not desist from the old habit of rivalry.

An assembly was convened to consider and pronounce upon the models. It was composed of a great number of masters of theology, of very many doctors, of architects, goldsmiths, and masters of numerous other arts, as well as of many citizens, and the general opinion was in favor of Brunelleschi's design. But this was not enough. Three meetings of the Board were held, at which were present two architects, two painters, two goldsmiths, one mathematician (*arismetricus*), and two

of the more intelligent citizens of Florence, ingenious and versed in the art of architecture, who, after studying the matter well, gave their opinion in writing concerning the models; and, finally, a committee was appointed consisting of seven of the most respected and notable citizens, among them Cosimo de' Medici, who, after due deliberation, gave their opinion in the following terms: "that, having examined the models for the construction and arrangement of the lantern, and considered diligently the experiments conducted, and the reports made upon the said models by numerous architects, painters, goldsmiths, and other intelligent citizens, it seems to them that the model of Philip Master Brunelleschi is best in form, and possesses the best parts of perfection; in that it is stronger than the other models, and also lighter in fact and in appearance; further, in that it is better lighted; and, finally, in that it is well devised to resist injury from water. And, for these aforesaid reasons and causes, it seems to them that the lantern should be made and constructed according to the model of the said Philip, and that the same Philip should be intrusted with the work to put it in execution, with these conditions, to wit: that the Board of Works should have Philip before them, and should, committing this charge to him with such words as may be required, desire him to be pleased to lay aside all rancor, if any abide in him, and to correct and amend such part of the said model as he may judge to be defective, although in slight degree; and to take and adopt into his own de-

sign what things are good and useful in the other models, to the end that the said lantern may have all its parts perfect; in regard to all these matters laying the burden upon his conscience. And they give the aforesaid advice, taking into account the above-mentioned counsels, and having regard to the marvellous work of the great cupola, which by his virtue he has brought to the desired end." Having given due consideration to this memorable opinion, the Board of Works, "wishing" (these were their words) "to make a beginning of such a lantern as is befitting to a work so magnificent and admirable as the great cupola, and such as is desired by the whole people of Florence," proceeded, on the 31st of December, 1436, to a formal and secret vote, and "unanimously determined and decreed that the said lantern should be constructed and built according to the model of the aforesaid Philip Master Brunelleschi, and that the ordering and execution of the work should be committed to Philip in the manner and form advised by the worthy and eminent citizens aforesaid." *

The work, being thus completely intrusted to Brunelleschi, should have gone forward rapidly; and, indeed, fifteen days after his appointment, Philip, accompanied by three of the masters employed by the *opera*, made

* These instructive and remarkable proceedings are set forth in full in the records of the Board of Works. See Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 273, pp. 93–95. They afford another illustration of the excellent spirit and methods of the Florentines in the conduct of great public works.

a journey to the quarries of Campiglia to see whether the marble required in the construction of the lantern could be obtained from them. But the work of actual building was not begun. Year after year there was delay. The cause of this slackness cannot now be ascertained. The public temper of Florence had undergone a great change since the last century. The city was contentedly submitting to the gradual loss of its independence; it was wearied and exhausted by the turbulence and the efforts of many generations. It preferred quiet and material prosperity, with loss of liberty, to the strenuous exertions required for self-government and to the frequent recurrence of disturbances resulting from such democratic institutions as those of which it had long had experience. There is nothing surprising in this. The steadiest human motives are those of a material order. The higher motives are seldom other than inconstant and irregular incitements to the mass of men, even in communities in which the average of character is high. In Florence that generous sense of common civic interests which had inspired and in great measure united her citizens, in spite of imbittered party divisions, had gradually declined. The ancient faith, which had been the support of morality, was weakened and undermined by the new thought of the Renaissance. The standard of personal conduct was lowered. The increase of intelligence was accompanied with a growth of selfishness. The very development of individuality which was characteristic

of the period tended to enfeeble the commonwealth. Men gave themselves up to private ends and enterprises. They built and adorned palaces rather than churches.*

Moreover, at this time the Florentines were occupied by concerns which, although of high ecclesiastical significance, gave curious indication of the decline in power of religious ideas over the minds and lives of clergy and laity alike. The Church was distracted by bitter internal discord. There were rival popes — two opposing infallibles. There were rival councils, each claiming to be œcumenical. The council that had met at Ferrara was conspicuous by the presence of the chief prelates of the Eastern Church, and of the Emperor of the East, John Palæologus, whose splendid pretensions and nominal dignities were in sharp contrast with his shrunken possessions and feeble authority. After long intrigue, the Greek bishops, induced by bribery, compelled by poverty and fear of the Turks, influenced by a multitude of considerations, personal, political, and ecclesiastical, had come with intent to defend, indeed, their ancient opinions on the points of difference by which the Latin and the Greek Church had for six hundred years been divided, but

* In a noted passage in his *History*, Varchi, describing the city of Florence, says, citing as his authority Benedetto Dei, "a diligent and sensible person," that between the years 1450 and 1478 thirty palaces were built. Most of these were magnificent and stately edifices. There were thirty-five palaces of older date. At the same period there were one hundred and thirty-eight gardens within the walls. *Storia Fiorentina*, lib. ix. §§ 38, 39.

prepared finally to yield them for the sake of a union from which they might hope for at least material benefit. The age was not one to breed martyrs for mere doctrine's sake. Driven from Ferrara by the plague, Pope, Emperor, and Council betook themselves to Florence, where, in the winter of 1439, they were welcomed with magnificent hospitality. The city was filled with illustrious guests from many lands. The debates in the Council were protracted through several months. At length, "on a solemn day," says the excellent Vespasiano—it was the 6th of July—"the Pope, with all the Court of Rome, and the Emperor of the Greeks, with all the bishops and prelates, went to St. Mary of the Flower, which had been prepared as beseemed such an occasion. The Pope, the cardinals, and the prelates of the Roman Church took their places on the side where the Gospel is read, and on the other side was the Emperor of Constantinople, with all the Greek bishops and archbishops." All were arrayed in their richest robes of ceremony, and "the style of the Greek dresses seemed far more grave and becoming than that of the Latin prelates." The Pope sang a solemn mass; Cardinal Julian, and Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, read from the pulpit, in their respective tongues, the act of union, and "mutually embraced in the name and in the presence of their applauding brethren," and before the multitude of spectators of so singular and splendid a scene, who crowded the vast nave of the cathedral, and filled the space beneath its majestic dome. "All the world

had gathered in Florence to witness an act of such dignity." *

Many notable ceremonies have been performed, many striking incidents have taken place, within the walls of Santa Maria del Fiore, but never was the great church the theatre of a performance more impressive than that of this day, from the variety and the character of the historic and religious associations with which it appealed to the imagination. The Emperor of the East stood there as the representative of the ancient world, a solitary and splendid figure, round which were gathered the mightiest traditions of the past; the Pope was hardly less an image of the past, the symbol of that Mediæval Church which was giving way before the spirit of the modern world.

The proper work of the Council failed. The union of the churches of the East and the West was a delusion. But the influence of the Council was neither transient nor local; it was one of the chief agencies in the emancipation of the intelligence of Europe. The presence in Florence for many months of a number of learned and eminent men to whom the tongue of ancient Greece was hardly a dead language quickened the long-since-awakened zeal of Florentine students to possess themselves of that "golden key which could unlock for them the treasures of antiquity."

* Vespasiano's account of the ceremonies is in his *Life of Eugenius IV.*, §§ 13, 14. Gibbon gives a clear and animated narrative of the proceedings of the Council, ch. lxvi.

The eloquence of Bessarion, the mystical discourses of the venerable Gemistos Plethon, indoctrinated their Florentine disciples with the divine teachings of their common master, Plato. It was a doctrine conformed to the inherited poetic and religious genius of Florence. The Platonic Academy was founded by Cosimo de' Medici, whose own nature was susceptible to the impression made by these teachers. The reverence for Plato led to the study and interpretation of Greek poetry and philosophy in general; and when, fifteen years later, Constantinople, the last refuge of Greek letters on their own ground, fell a conquest to the barbaric Turk, the enthusiasm thus awakened had happily not abated, and Italy was prepared to offer asylum to scholars who brought her the last remnants of ancient learning, and to become the interpreter to Europe of the thought of Greece, and, by force of kindred genius, to revivify the Greek spirit in new forms of art. As Homer admitted Dante to his company of poets, so the architects of Athens would not have denied their brotherhood with Brunelleschi, nor would her painters have refused to Botticelli entrance to their band.

In the year of the Council, little advance seems to have been made towards the completion of the Duomo. There was a falling-off in the funds at the disposal of the Board of Works. The salary of Brunelleschi and of other masters was reduced one half.* For three years

* This was on the ground of an impost of two thousand florins laid on the *opera* by the magistracy called *della Masserizia*, or "of Frugal-

there is no record of work, and it was not till April, 1445, that the Consuls of the Art of Wool, desirous that the lantern should be built, and considering the extreme difficulty of raising stone and marble to the top of the dome and of supporting it there in sufficient quantity for the construction, by a fresh vote appointed "Philip, who said he could do the work, sole overseer for the term of his life," but "no longer," adds the cautious scribe—"pro tempore et termino duraturo eius vita durante et donec vixerit, et non ulterius"—at a salary once more of a hundred florins annually.* It is uncertain whether the work of actual construction was even then begun. The documents are silent; Baldinucci, without giving his authority, asserts that the first stone of the lantern was placed in 1445, and there is no evidence to contradict his assertion.† But the master was not to see his design completed, was not long even to direct its progress.

"Finally," says Vasari, "Filippo, being now very old, that is, sixty-nine years old, in the year 1446, on the 16th of April, went to a better life, after having toiled greatly in the performance of works which made him deserve on earth an honored name, and obtain in heaven an abode of peace. His country felt infinite grief for him, and knew and esteemed him when he was dead far more than it had done while he was living.

ity." The motive of this impost is not stated. Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 88, p. 46.

* Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., Doc. 93, p. 48.

† Baldinucci, *Vita di Filippo Ser Brunellesco*, Firenze, 1812, p. 126.

A multitude of friends, artists, wept for him, and chiefly the poorer among them, to whom he had done good continually."

His body was laid in the campanile, but in February of the next year order was taken that it should be buried within the cathedral, and that the marble slab in the pavement above his grave should bear the words

"FILIPPUS ARCHITECTOR."

It was Brunelleschi's chief desire, says Vasari, to bring back to light good architecture, the good old orders, in place of the German and barbarous style which had been in vogue; and he succeeded. The curves of his dome clasp the modern to the classic world.

More than twenty years passed after Brunelleschi's death before the lantern was completed. On the 23d of April, 1467, the last and highest stone was set, and the Signory of the city and the Consuls of the Art of Wool mounted to the lantern, in order to be present at its consecration by the archbishop, with his chapter and all the canons and chaplains of the Church.*

* *Ricordo* of Alamanno di Francesco, in Gualandi, *Memorie di Belle Arti*, ser. iv. 1845, p. 139. The date is generally given, it is so even by Guasti (p. 202), as 23d of April, 1461. This error is due to Baldinucci, who misdates a *Ricordo* which he cites, *Vita di Filippo di Ser Brunellesco*, p. 126, note. The Record itself should have saved him from the error, and led to its earlier correction, for it contains the name of the Gonfalonier present at the consecration of the lantern, Tommaso Soderini. Soderini was Gonfalonier in 1467. Compare Doc. 317 in Guasti, *La Cupola*, etc., p. 107, from the records of the *opera*, dated December 31, 1466, in which are the words "seeing that the lantern is near its perfection, so that in a short time it will be finished and complete." Milanesi repeats the error in his new edition of Vasari, Firenze, 1878, tomo ii. p. 364, note.

With the completion of Brunelleschi's design, the interest of the history of St. Mary of the Flower as a work of religious faith, of civic pride, of artistic genius, comes to an end. Few cities possess a nobler or more characteristic monument of the great achievements of their people in the past. Few cities have nurtured a people so worthy of such a memorial as those of Florence.

# APPENDIX

# APPENDIX I.

*DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DUOMO OF SIENA.*

The following documents were obtained by me from the archives in Siena, in 1870. Some of them were published in an article in Von Zahn's *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, in May, 1872; but that excellent journal soon after ceased to appear, owing to the untimely death of its accomplished editor, and as its numbers are accessible to few English readers, I have thought it worth while to reprint those documents which appeared in it, and to add to them a few that have never been in print.

The Padre Della Valle, in his *Lettere Sanesi* (1782), published a few documents relating to the Duomo. Others were printed by Von Rumohr in his still valuable *Italienische Forschungen* (1827). These were republished, with many printed for the first time, by Milanesi, in his *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* (1854), often referred to in the preceding pages.

The first of the documents I print is an extract from the earliest existing "Statuto" of the commune, concerning the duties of the Podestà in respect to the Duomo, of which I have given an account on pp. 86–88.

# I.

*From Statuto Senese II., f.* 1.

A.D. CIRCA 1260.

(1.) *De jure operariorum sancte marie.*

Et infra unum mensem a principio mei dominatus faciam jurare operarios opere sancte marie, quod omnes redditus qui ad manus eorum pervenerint pro ipso opere, vel eius occasione, reducent in manus trium legalium hominum de penitentia, quos dominus episcopus eligat, cum consulibus utriusque mercantie, et prioribus XXIIIJ$^{or}$ vel cum maiori parti eorum, qui teneantur esse cum domino episcopo ad ipsam electionem faciendam, de tribus in tribus mensibus, salvo quod possint inde facere consuetas expensas. Et illos tres cogam recipere super se omne debitum quod pro ipso opere debetur, si dominus episcopus voluerit opus sancte marie et debitum sub sua protectione recipere, et dicti tres teneantur reddere rationem eorum in consilio campane et populi de tribus in tribus mensibus, et potestas teneatur facere reddi dictam rationem a dictis tribus ut dictum est.

(2.) *De eodem.*

Et faciam consilium campane comunis per totum mensem januarii de providendo super mittendis hominibus qui revideant rationem reddituum et expensarum operis sancte marie, et qualiter procedatur in dicto opere, et de habendo operario uno vel pluribus; et quicquid consilium, vel maior pars, dixerit ita faciam et observabo.

(3.) *De jure eorumdem.*

Et faciam jurare operarios sancte marie quod quando habebunt x libras super facto operis ipsas expendent in amanamento* et facto operis, et illud admanamentum non preste[n]t alicui sine domini episcopi parabola et mea, et ab inde superius mutabitur in opere ad dictum domini episcopi et mei.

(4.) *De jure illorum qui acquirunt pro opere sancte marie.*

Et faciam jurare illos qui acquirunt in civitate senarum pro opere sancte marie quod quicquid ad manus eorum sive ad eos pro ipso opere perveniet sine diminutione dabitur et reassignabitur in manus domino-

* This is a Latinizing of the word "ammanimento," which means "preparation," here used, perhaps, for the getting-together of tools and materials. Compare

"Ma se le svergognate fosser certe
Di quel che 'l ciel veloce loro ammana."
Dante, *Purg.* xxiii. 106–7.

rum operis vel in manus illorum qui pro opere fuerint electi, et hoc facere teneantur singulis edomadis semel, exceptis illis qui diebus pasqualibus acquirunt in ecclesia maiori, et predicta juramenta fiant per totum mensem januarii.

(5.) *De reducendis marmoribus ad opus sancte marie.*

Et si contigerit quod rector et operarii maioris ecclesie rumpi marmora fecerint pro opere sancte marie, et illa voluerint facere reduci ad illud opus, illa marmora et portilia faciam deferri expensis comunis, vel per foretaneos nostre jurisdictionis, usque ad dictum opus, ad inquisitionem operariorum eiusdem opere vel dominorum fraternitatis.

(6.) *De magistris dandis operi sancte marie.*

Et dabo vel dari faciam operi sancte marie x magistros expensis et pretio comunis senarum, a futuris kalendis januarii ad unum annum, diebus quibus erit laborandum ad inquisitionem dominorum ipsius operis: et faciam jurare operarios quod ipsi facient jurare magistros laborare in dicto opere bona fide sine fraude sicuti in proprio suo laborarent, et quod dicti operarii teneantur accùsare dictos magistros apud camerarium et iiij$^{or}$ [provisores] comunis senarum si predicta non facerent vel non observarent.

(7.) *De jure magistrorum opere sancte marie.*

Et predictos magistros jurare faciam assidue in dicto opere laborare tam in estate quemadmodum in yeme, et pro eodem pretio, et quod nulli alii adiuvabunt ad laborandum sine speciali licentia potestatis, et tunc pro facto comunis tamen, et hoc idem observetur de omnibus aliis qui in dicto opere fuerint conducti.

(8.) *De deliberando et ordinando quomodo in dicto opere procedatur.*

Et de mense januarii tenear ego potestas, et capitaneus teneatur, una cum consulibus utriusque mercanzie et prioribus xxiiij$^{or}$, deliberare et videre et ordinare super facto operis sancte marie quomodo et qualiter in dicto opere procedatur, et quot magistri in ipso opere debeant laborare, et quomodo laborent ibi assidue sine interpolatione alterius operis, et super salario eorum, et utrum debeant dicti magistri retinere in gignoribus * vel non, et super operariis ibidem statuendis, et super actationibus dicti operis, et super faciendo fieri sedilia sive gradus lapidis circum circa plateam episcopatus per magistros dicti operis, ut cum fit contio sive parlamentum gentes possint sedere et morari super ipsis gradibus; et generaliter super omnibus et singulis supradictis, et eorum occasione, et super omnibus utilitatibus faciendis pro dicto opere sicut

* "Gignore" = apprentice. See *Statuti degli Orafi Sanesi*, of 1361, in Gaye, *Carteggio*, tomo i. p. 8.

eis videbitur, et quicquid de predictis fecerint et statuerint sit ratum et firmum non obstante aliquo constituto.

(9.) *De inveniendo loco pro cappella construenda ad honorem dei et beate virginis.*

Et teneantur priores xxiiij$^{or}$ et camerarius et iiij$^{or}$ provisores comunis senarum et consules utriusque mercantie, si exinde fuerint requisiti a domino episcopo senensi, invenire et videre et ordinare locum unum in quo eis videretur magis conveniens pro construendo et faciendo fieri expensis operis sancte marie unam capellam ad honorem et reverentiam dei, et beate marie virginis, et illorum sanctorum in quorum solempnitate dominus dedit senensibus victoriam de inimicis, cum oporteat cappellam sancti jacobi destrui pro ornatu episcopatus; et in illo loco quem predicti ordines approbaverint et ordinaverint dicta cappella fiat expensis operis sancte marie.

(10.*) *De revidendis et aptiandis domibus que sunt circa operam sancte marie.*

Et per totum mensem februarii faciam consilium campane in quo proponam et consilium petam de facienda platea, et revidendis et emendis et aptiandis domibus et hedificiis que sunt circa operam sancte marie maioris ecclesie senensis ex parte posteriori, et quicquid exinde consilium vel maior pars dixerit ut eius expensis debeat fieri, ita faciam et complebo.

(11.) *De emenda domo filiorum dainelli.*

Cum per domum emptam a comuni senarum que fuit filiorum trojani platea que est post opus beate marie virginis, dicta platea non possit iam explanari ut homines et persone possint comode ingredi dictam ecclesiam, et sic expense ille sint ammisse et nullius valoris, statuimus et ordinamus quod domus filiorum dainelli de arbiola ematur a comuni senarum pro explananda et actanda platea ad hoc, ut facilius ingressus sit omnibus volentibus inde intrare dictam ecclesiam; et dicta emptio fiat secundum extimationem trium bonorum hominum qui eligantur per camerarium et quatuor provisores comunis senarum; et dicti tres sit unus de civitate veteri, et alius de valle sancti martini, et alius de terzerio camollie; que domus destruantur et mittantur per totum mensem aprilis, et aptetur ita dicta platea quod homines et persone libere et facile possint intrare dictam ecclesiam; lateres vero et hedificia dictarum domorum vendantur pro comuni senarum et pretium eorum detur in emptionem dictarum domorum, et dicti tres jurent de novo bona fide sine fraude facere rectam et legalem extimationem dictarum domorum, et predicta fiant non obstante aliquo capitulo constituti.

* This and the following rubric have been cancelled by an ancient hand.

(12.) *De compellendis habentibus bestias pro salmis reducere marmora operis sancte marie.*

Et compellam omnes et singulos habentes bestias ad somam in civitate senarum bis in anno reducere vel reduci facere marmora operis sancte marie, et hoc faciam si dominus episcopus fecerit uni cuique eorum indulgentiam unius anni de iniuncta sibi penitentia pro una quaque salma.

(13.) *De judice dando super cognoscendis legatis factis operi sancte marie et fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus et aliis locis religiosis.*

Et dabo seu delegabo operi sancte marie de senis et eius sindico vel procuratori unum judicem qui summatim et extra ordinem, sine solempnitate judiciorum, et sine libello et petitione, cognoscat de judiciis factis dicte opere, et ad solutionem compellat eos qui solvere debent vel debebunt. Et hec eadem observabo de relictis factis fratribus predicatoribus et fratribus minoribus de senis, et monasterio sancti galgani, et dominabus de sancta petronilla, et de sancto prospero, et hospitali sancte marie et malagdìs de terzole, de corpore sancto et heremitis et dominabus de sancto laurentio, et servis sancte marie, et administratoribus et curatoribus pauperum civitatis senarum, et dominabus de sancto mamilliano, et aliis locis religiosis; etiam quod supradictis omnibus valeant dispositiones facte coram tribus testibus masculis puberibus sicut valerent pro civibus senensibus, et quod potestas vel consules placiti, seu iudex comunis, teneantur ad petitionem seu relationem judicis positi super hoc exbamnire et exbamniri facere illos qui tenentur et debent dictis locis relicta et judicia et dare tenutas et possessiones ad voluntatem sindici predictorum locorum, sine alia pronuntiatione seu sententia lata a dicto judice, et quod teneatur dictus judex terminare questiones coram se ceptas de predictis infra mensem postquam cepte fuerint, nisi remaneret parabola conquerentis.

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The next document shows how the magistracy of Siena dealt with a town under the dominion of the commune that was refractory in the discharge of the service required of it for the *opera*. See text p. 98.

## II.

A.D. 1262.

*Die sabbati xiij kalendas iunii.*

Facto et congregato consilio xxiiij$^{or}$ in domo Mini Pieri ad sonum

campane grosse populi ad ritocchum, a nobili viro domino Gherardino de Piis, Dei et regia gratia Capitaneo populi et Comunis Senarum, ut moris est. In quo consilio lectis diligenter licteris infrascriptis que mictuntur illis de Monticiano, dicte lictere per dictum consilium fuerunt firmate, et sic mitti voluerunt et observate. Forma quarum licterarum talis est:—Gherardinus de Piis, Dei et regia gratia Capitaneus populi et Comunis Senarum, et ipsi Priores vigintiquatuor, providis viris Rectori, Camerario, Consilio et Comuni de Monticiano salutem et amorem sincerum. Recolimus vobis alia vice nostras licteras destinasse ut lignamina que expediunt operi sante Marie pro iusto et decenti pretio Senas deferre deberetis, cumque mandatum nostrum transieritis surda aure grave ferimus et molestum; quare vobis universis et singulis firmiter et districte precipiendo mandamus, ad penam et bannum centum marcharum argenti Comuni vestro, et viginti quinque librarum denariorum senensium ab uno quoque vecturalium terre vestre auferendum; precipiendo mandamus quatenus lignamina dicta ubicumque sunt pro dicto opere deferatis pretio condecenti, alioquin contra vos ad exbanniendum et condennandum acriter procedemus; ita quod de vestra inobedientia nullum cognoscetis comodum reportare. Nos autem faciemus vobis solvi de labore vestro pro ut iustum fuerit atque decens.

*Consiglio Generale*, tomo x. f. 35.

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Documents III. and IV. relate to the choice of the *operaio* and of a committee of the works.*

## III.

A.D. 1272.

Anno Domini Millesimo cclxxij indictione xiiij die vij mensis maii. Appareat omnibus manifeste quod congregato generali Consilio Comunis Senarum in ecclesia Sancti Cristofori, more solito congregatum ad

* The first *operaio* of whom I find mention was Frater Vernaccius, or Fra Vernaccio, of San Galgano, in the year 1257–8. (Perg. 221, in the series of the *Opera Metropolitana di Siena*.) San Galgano was a monastery of the Cistercian order in the diocese of Volterra. It continued to supply *operarii* to the Duomo of Siena for almost half a century. Fra Vernaccio was succeeded in 1259–60 by Fra Melano (see text, p. 102), who remained at the head of the works for sixteen or seventeen years, during which the greater part of the old Duomo, so called, was erected. In 1277 the name of Fra Villa appears as that of the *operaio* (Perg. 374). He was succeeded in 1280 by Fra Magio, or Maso (Perg. 391); and he, in turn, in 1290, by Fra Giacomo (*Libro della Biccherna*, Oct., 1290); and he, in 1292, by Fra Chiaro (Perg. 476); and he, in 1298, by Fra Fazio (Perg. 626)—all from the same monastery. To these Cistercians the old cathedral owes all that is best in its construction.

sonum campane et per bannum missum, dominus Orlandinus de Canossio, Dei et regia gratia Potestas Comunis Senensis, cum consilio, consensu, et expressa parabola et auctoritate domini Renaldi domini Renaldini camerarii, et Bartolomei Crescenzi, domini Tomagii iudicis, Gonterii domini Palmerii, et domini Scotie de Talomeis, quatuor provisorum Comunis dicti, et consensu et auctoritate dicti Consilii, et eiusdem voluntate expressa, et ipsi iidem camerarius et quatuor provisores Comunis, et Consilium predictum fecerunt, constituerunt, creaverunt et ordinaverunt Fratrem Melanum, Monasterii Sancti Galgani ordinis Cestelli, licet absentem, factorem, ordinatorem et operarium opere seu operis Sancte Marie Maioris Ecclesie Senensis, ad facendum fieri, operari, et compleri dictam operam et omnia que fuerint opportuna dicte opere. Et fecerunt, constituerunt et ordinaverunt ipsum sindicum, actorem, factorem, et procuratorem predicte opere, ad petendum et exigendum, recolligendum et recipiendum, nomine dicte opere et pro ea, omne et quolibet debitum, legatum seu relictum ipse opere et eius causa a quacumque persona et loco; et ad liberandum et absolvendum omnes et singulos debitores eiusdem; et ad cedendum iura et ad facendum instrumenta et cartas seu apocas de soluto et de cessionibus iurium; et ad transigendum, componendum finem, et refutationem facendum, et ad cipiendum mutuum pro dicta opera, et ad obligandum bona ipsius; et ad vendendum bona prefate opere, et ad omnia et singula faciendum que cognoverit utilia expedire dicte opere. Et dederunt, concesserunt et mandaverunt eidem Fratri Melano generalem et liberam administrationem in predictis et circa predicta, et que verus et legictimus operarius et administrator et factor facere potest. Et promiserunt quod quicquid per eum factum fuerit ratum et firmum habere, et tenere, et contra non venire aliqua ratione, iure vel occasione, sub obligatione bonorum dicti Comunis.

Actum Senis in ecclesia Sancti Cristofori, coram Martino Guarrerii et Gilio coiario [*lacuna*] castaldis Comunis Senensis testibus presentibus.

Ego Bonaventura notarius, olim Bonaguide, nunc Comunis Sen., scriba, predictis interfui, et quod super legitur, mandato predicte Potestatis et Consilii, scripsi et publicavi.

Ego Guido Rubeus quondam Jannis, iudex et notarius, que supra continentur vidi et legi in instrumento autentico et illeso per dictum Bonaventuram notarium publicato, et ea ex inde sumpsi, et nichilo addito vel dempto preter signum ipsius notarii, in hac pagina fideliter exemplavi et scripsi, et una cum Bartolomeo Cerigi notario et dicto autentico diligenter legi et auscultavi; et facta de predictis insinuatione diligenti, Senis in ecclesia Sancti Cristofori, in anno Domini Millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo secundo, indictione prima, die duodecimo kalendas octubris, in presentia domini Bonaguide iudicis filii quondam

Gregorii Boccaccii, et Bonensegne quondam Ugolini, qui vocatur Bonensegna Unctus, consulum placiti Senarum, in ecclesia dicta, more solito, pro tribunali sedentium, et apud ipsos huic insinuationi auctoritatem suam prestantes, coram Bernardo notario quondam Ranerii Tortonis, Ugolino quondam Ranerii Guinisio, Diotisalvi vocato Nigli Ciolo quondam Provenzani, et Jacobino Benzi testibus presentibus de ipsorum consulum mandato mihi facto, coram testibus eisdem loco et die proxime dictis, in publicam formam redegi et meum signum apposui.

*Opera Metropolitana di Siena.*

## IV.

A.D. 1280.

*Die lune xvj decembris.*

In nomine Domini amen.—Factum est generale Consilium campane Comunis Senarum choadunatum ad sonum campane et per bannum missum in palatio filiorum Jacobi de Platea posito in Galgaria, ab illustri et magnifico viro domino Matheo Rubeo de filiis Ursi, Dei gratia Potestate Senarum, in quo proposuit et consilium petiit. Quod cum audiveritis legi capitulum statuti quod loquitur :—et faciam Consilium Comunis Senarum per totum mensem januarii de providendo ut ponantur iiij$^{or}$ homines inter quos sit unus ex consulibus mercatorum qui revideant rationem reddituum, proventuum et expensarum operis Sancte Marie et qualiter in dicto opere procedatur et de habendo operario uno vel pluribus. . . .

Rustichettus Guidonis Jacobi consuluit et dixit, quod iiij$^{or}$ qui debent eligi super providendo debito operis Sancte Marie eligantur per dominum Potestatem et eius curiam et Quindecim secundum formam statuti Senarum, et quod per eos factum fuerit teneat et sit firmum. . . .

Jacobus Sardus super providendo de debito operis Sancte Marie et super eligendis iiij$^{or}$ inter quos sit unus ex consulibus mercatorum consuluit, quod eligantur secundum formam statuti, et quod ipsi idem electi habeant revidere rationem reddituum et proventuum dicti operis, et quod sit in eorum provisione de habendo uno operario tantum. . . .

Dominus Bandinus judex, super facto operis consuluit, quod eligantur dicti iiij$^{or}$ secundum formam statuti, et per eos rationem redituum diligenter debeat revideri. . . .

Consilium super revidendo ratione redituum operis Sancte Marie fuit in concordia cum dicto Rustichetti.

*Consiglio della Campana*, tomo xxiv. f. 7.

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In regard to the following document, see the preceding text, p. 135, concerning the release of prisoners on

the Feast of the Assumption, and the proposal to leave to Pier Pettignano the choice of captives to be freed.*

## V.

A.D. 1282.

*Die martis xj augusti.*

In Dei nomine amen. Factum est generale Consilium campane Comunis Senarum, Dominorum xv, Gubernatorum Comunis et populi Senarum, ad eorum requisitionem et petitionem, in palatio filiorum Talomeorum et filiorum Serre Jacobi de Platea, ad sonum campane et per bannum missum publice per civitatem Senarum ut moris est, coadunatum a nobili et prudenti viro domino Oddo Altoviti de Florentia Judice, nunc in loco magnifici et illustris viri domini Guidonis Salvatici, Dei gratia in Tuscia Comitis Palatini, et nunc eadem gratia honorabilis Potestatis Senarum, facta prius de infrascriptis imposita de conscientia camerarii et iiij$^{or}$ provisorum Comunis Senarum, apud palatium ipsius domini Comitis Potestatis, secundum formam statuti Senarum. In quo quidem consilio proposuit et consilium petiit, quod cum dicatur quod sit consuetudo in civitate Senarum in festivitatibus beate Marie semper virginis de mense agusti, quod festum principaliter celebratur per Comune et homines civitatis Senarum ad reverentiam Jesu Christi et matris eius sanctissime ac beate Virginis Marie, et ad exaltationem Comunis et civitatis Senarum et eius districtus, relaxare aliquos ex carceratis Comunis Senarum,—si placet vobis quod aliqui ex carceratis Comunis Senarum in proxima festivitate beate ac gloriose Marie semper virginis huius mensis relaxentur et relaxari debeant per Comune Senarum, qui et quot, et per quos inveniantur illi qui debuerint relaxari de carceribus Comunis Senarum; quid vobis videtur quod faciendum sit super predictis pro meliori et utiliori Comunis Senatum in dei nomine consulatis. . . .

Jacobus domini Renaldi Gilii consuluit et dixit, quod Pierus Pettinarius hinc ad diem beate Marie Virginis debeat invenire x ex pregionibus Comunis Senarum pauperioribus quos invenire poterit et illi quos invenerit relaxentur. . . .

Dominus Bartalomeus Seracini consuluit et dixit, quod relaxentur ex

* Mr. Forsyth, who was in Siena at the festival of the Assumption in 1802, witnessed the celebration of the Beatification of Pier Pettignano. He says, in his *Remarks on Italy*—a book still eminent among the many volumes of Italian travel —"The Pope had reserved for this great festival the Beatification of Peter, a Senese comb-maker, whom the Church had neglected to canonize till now. Poor Peter was honored with all the solemnity of musick, high-mass, an officiating cardinal, a florid panegyrick, pictured angels bearing his tools to heaven, and combing their own hair as they soared; but he received five hundred years ago a greater honor than all, a verse of praise from Dante."

pregionibus pauperibus et pro minori culpa detentis, qui eligentur per guardianum minorum et fratrum predicatorum, et cum deliberatione dominorum xv, sub ista condictione, quod non relaxentur aliqui ex proditoribus civitatis Senarum, vel qui dederint in prodictione auxilium vel favorem, nec aliquis qui alia vice fuerit oblatus per Comune Senarum. . . .

Johannes Provinus consuluit et dixit, quod de carceratis relaxentur usque xviij pro minori et leviori culpa, et ad inveniendum eos sit et esse debeat unus frater de predicatoribus et unus de minoribus quos eorum priores voluerint, et compagnus domini Episcopi, et Pietrus Pettinarius. . . .

Dominus Ricovarus judex consuluit et dixit, quod ad honorem Dei et beate Marie Virginis relaxentur usque x de pauperioribus pregionibus qui sunt in carceribus Comunis, exceptis de hoc numero proditoribus et rebellibus et condempnatis pro maleficiis et pro robbariis stratarum, et quod isti x eligantur et cernantur per [dominos] xv, et quod, inventis de xv, legantur in consilio generali eorum nomina et pronomina, et postea pro quolibet fiat scrutinium per palloctas ita quod quilibet qui habuerit plures palloctas quod debeat relassari relaxetur, et aliter non, et non vult quod relaxentur aliqui qui alias fuerint oblati. . . .

Soczus domini Bandinelli consuluit et dixit, quod relaxentur xx de carceratis Comunis hoc modo, quod eligantur et cernantur per dominos xv et per ordines civitatis, inter quos vult quod sint homines Guelfi qui fuerint defensores pacifici status Comunis Senarum et officii dominorum xv; inter quos non vult quod possit esse aliquis proditor vel rebellis Comunis Senarum, nec aliquis alias relaxatus vel oblatus, nec aliquis de Licignano Aretii, sed de amicis et pauperioribus et pro levi culpa detentis, et excipit illos qui fuerint ad prelium in civitate Senarum contra Comune et populum Senarum, et illos qui steterint in turri ad faciendam guerram, et quod postea dicti xx sic electi legantur in consilio campane. . . .

Consilium fuit in concordia in predictis omnibus cum dicto Soczo domini Bandinelli.

*Consiglio della Compana*, tomo xxvi. f. 11.

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Donation by the Commune of eight hundred lire for the prosecution of the work on the Duomo. See text, p. 140.

## VI.

A.D. 1290.

*Die* 20 *mensis octubris.*

In nomine Domini amen. Factum est generale Consilium campane Comunis Senarum, consulum militum, consulum mercatorum, consu-

lum artis lane et dominorum artium, et L per terzerium, a magnifico et potenti milite domino Johanne domini Arcorimboni de Camerino, Dei gratia honorabili Potestate Senarum, facta primo imposita de infrascriptis de conscientia et voluntate camerarii et quatuor provisorum Comunis Senarum, apud palatium dicti domini Potestatis secundum formam constituti senensis, congregatum in palatio Comunis Senarum, de mandato dicti domini Potestatis, ad sonum campane et per bannum missum ut moris est,—in quo proposuit et consilium petiit quod cum operarius operis beate Virginis Marie petat a Comuni Senarum certam quantitatem pecunie pro dicto opere et necessitate dicti operis, quam pecuniam dictus operarius non habet, et sine dicta pecunia in dicto opere procedi non possit, et laborerium jam inceptum non posset ad laudem effectui produci, et firmatum sit per dominos xviij, Gubernatores et defensores Comunis et populi Senarum, facto partito ad scruptineum per palloctas secundum formam constituti, quod de pecunia et auro Comunis operario supradicto pro predicto opere et necessitate dicti operis donentur viij$^{c}$ libre denariorum senensium ad voluntatem dicti operarii, et postmodum sequente die sit similiter firmatum per ordines civitatis, silicet per dominos xviij et quattuor provisores comunis et consules militum et consules mercatorum, facto partito ad scruptineum et per palloctas secundum formam constituti, quod dicte viij$^{c}$ libre denariorum donentur dicto operario pro dicto opere faciendo ad eius voluntatem et requisitionem, de pecunia et avere Comunis Senarum prout firmatum et stantiatum est per ordines supradictos, Unde si placet vobis quod dicta pecunia donetur ut dictum est in Dei nomine consulatis.

Dominus Albertus Syndicus comunis senarum contradixit supradicte imposite secundum formam constituti senensis.

Dominus Nerius judex consuluit et dixit, quod dicte viij$^{c}$ libre denariorum ob honorem et reverentiam beate Marie semper Virginis defenditricis et gubernatricis Comunis et populi Senarum donentur de avere et pecunia Comunis Senarum dicto Operario pro dicto opere faciendo et ad laudem et effectum producendo, ad voluntatem et requisitionem dicti operarii, et quod camerarius et quattuor teneantur dictam quantitatem pecunie dicto operario dare, et quod debeant omnia contenta in imposita per dominos potestatem et dominos xviij et camerarium et quattuor ex comuni mandari.

Consilium fuit in concordia cum dicto dicti domini Neri judicis, facto et misso partito secundum formam constituti et ad scruptineum, ipso scruptineo diligenter facto, quia in Bossolo del *sì* fuerunt invente ccxviiij pallocte et in illa del *no* xij pallocte per duas partes et plus.

*Consiglio della Campana*, tomo xl. f. 50.

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The following document does not bear directly on

the story of the Duomo; but it affords such interesting illustration of the conditions of the times, and relates to a character so well known, that it deserves to be printed. Ghin di Tacco has received immortality from Dante and Boccaccio. Dante speaks of "le braccia fiere di Ghin di Tacco,"* and Boccaccio, in an excellent story of his dealings with the Abbot of Cligni, describes him as "a man famous for his bold and insolent robberies, who, being banished from Siena, caused the town of Radicofani to rebel against the Church, and lived there while his gang robbed all who passed that way."† "This terrible Ghino di Tacco," says Mr. Longfellow, in his note on Dante's verse, "was a nobleman of Asinalunga, in the territory of Siena; one of those splendid fellows who, from some real or imaginary wrong done them, take to the mountains and highways to avenge themselves on society. He is the true type of the traditionary stage bandit, the magnanimous melodramatic hero who utters such noble sentiments and commits such atrocious deeds."

## VII.

*De castro constructo per D. Ghinum Tachi inter Asinam Longam et Guardavalle.*

A.D. 1297.

*Die mercurii iiij° decembris.*

In nomine Domini amen. Ex precepto nobilis militis domini Acti de Corinatto Dei gratia honorabilis Potestatis Senarum, et nobilis militis domini Cervii de Bonatteriis de Bononia eadem gratia honorabilis Capitanei Comunis et populi Senarum, generali consilio campane Comunis et populi supradicti, cum adiuncta quinquaginta per terzerium de radota, in palatio dicti Comunis, ad sonum campane et vocem preconum more solito congregato, facta prius imposita de infrascriptis de conscientia et consensu domini camerarii et duorum ex quattuor provisoribus

* *Purgatorio*, vi. 14. † *Decamerone*, Nov. 92.

dicti Comunis, apud palatium dicti Comunis, secundum formam statuti, prefati domini Potestas et Capitaneus proposuerunt in dicto consilio et consilium petierunt:—

Quod cum ad audientiam dominorum Novem, gubernatorum et defensorum Comunis et populi Senarum, relatu pervenerit plurimorum quod per dominum Ghinum Tachi inter Asinam longam et Guardavalle construebatur quedam fortellitia seu castrum, et ipsi domini Novem, volentes de hiis scire plenarie veritatem, ad dictum locum miserunt aliquos bonos homines et legales per quos redacta fuerunt in scriptis ea que reperierunt de predictis, sicut legi audivistis in presenti consilio, super quibus dicti domini Novem per se ipsos nolunt aliquid providere, sed habito consilio et tractatu super predictis cum pluribus sapientibus et bonis hominibus civitatis extitit per eos concorditer stabilitum, quod hec omnia ad presens consilium ponerentur, et sicut super hiis placeret presenti consilio providere et ordinare ita fient et debent executioni mandari;—Quid super hiis et circa ea pro bono et pacifico statu civitatis, comitatus et jurisdictionis Senarum, et ad evitandam omnem materiam dubii, scandali et erroris sit agendum, in Dei nomine consulatis.

Meus Ormanni super facto domini Ghini Tachi dixit et consuluit, quod per dominos Novem eligantur iiij$^{or}$ boni homines et legales per terzerium qui stare debeant in palatio Comunis Senarum et sentire et invenire novitatem que sit per dictum dominum Ghinum Tachi, et, ea inventa et scita, postea super dicto negotio provideant, ordinent et faciant ea omnia que pro honore et statu Comunis Senarum viderint et cognoverint convenire, et quicquid ipsi in ipso et de ipso negotio providerint, ordinaverint et fecerint observetur et fiat et executioni mandetur. . . .

Jacobus domini Renaldi Gilii super facto domini Ghini Tachi dixit et consuluit, quod pro parte Comunis Senarum precipiatur hominibus de contrata ubi sit dicta fortillitia sive castrum, et illi seu illis qui faciunt vel fieri faciunt dictum castrum, quod ipsi in dicto loco non faciant nec fieri faciant aliquam fossam, carbonariam, murum castellanum, sive aliquam fortillitiam, et si predicti ab ipso precepto in antea facerent vel fieri facerent novitatem, quod dominus Potestas et Capitaneus et Novem qui nunc sunt, vel pro tempore fuerint, mictant ad partes illas masnadam Comunis, que masnada capiat personaliter quoscumque invenerit in loco predicto, et, ipsis captis, postea suspendantur per gulam ita quod moriantur; et vult quod si ibi est facta aliqua novitas preter muros domorum et domos quod talis novitas usque funditus destruatur. . . .

Tuccius Alexi super facto domini Ghini Tachi consuluit, quod pro parte Comunis Senarum per quemdam numptium dicti Comunis precipiatur illi seu illis qui faciunt vel fieri faciunt novitatem predictam,

quod in ipso loco non faciant amplius novitatem, et si a dicto precepto in antea aliquid novi fieret, quod talis novitas destruatur expensis illorum qui talem facerent vel fieri facerent novitatem, hoc salvo, quod si illi qui faciunt vel fieri faciunt ipsam novitatem voluerint comparere coram domino Potestate et domino Capitaneo et dominis Novem et aliquid petierint ab eisdem, quod tunc fieri possit in eo loco id quod de ipsorum dominorum processerit voluntate et non ultra.

Ser Jacobus Sardus dixit et consuluit super facto domini Ghini, quod super dicto negotio fiat scruptinium hoc modo, quicumque vult quod novitas facta et que fit per dominum Ghinum tollatur et destruatur et non procedatur ulterius in ipso facto mictat palloctam in pisside albo, et quicumque vult quod fiat ipsa novitas et fieri possit mittat palloctam in pisside nigro, et sicut tunc per palloctas obtentum fuerit ita fiat et executioni mandetur.

Frederigus domini Renaldi de Tholomeis super facto domini Ghini Tachi dixit et consuluit, quod dictum negotium totum remictit in dominum Potestatem et Capitaneum Comunis Senarum, et quod super dicto facto, tam in faciendo destrui ipsam novitatem quam dimittendo esse, procedant et faciant quicquid eis pro honore et statu Comunis Senarum viderint et cognoverint convenire, et quicquid ipsi in predictis et circa ea providerint et ordinaverint observetur et fiat et executioni mandetur.

Rustichettus Guidi de Cortabrachis super facto domini Ghini Tachi dixit et consuluit, quod quidam numptius Comunis Senarum pro parte dicti Comunis mictatur ad locum ubi fit novitas supradicta, et per ipsum numptium precipiatur pro parte Comunis Senarum illi seu illis qui faciunt vel fieri faciunt novitatem predictam, quod ipsam novitatem et quiquid factum est in loco predicto incontinenti destruant, et plus non faciant ullo modo, et si per eum vel eos qui faciunt vel fieri faciunt novitatem predictam dictum preceptum observabitur et adimplebitur bene quidem; alias domini Potestas et Capitaneus Comunis Senarum omnino procurent et faciant sic et taliter quod dictum preceptum in omnibus observetur et executioni mandetur.

Gerius Montanini super facto domini Ghini Tachi consuluit et dixit, quod ipse erat in concordia cum dicto et arengamento Jacobi domini Renaldi salvo quod non placet ei, nec se concordat cum eo, quod procedatur ad suspensionem hominum aliquorum.

Dominus Arrigus judex sindicus dixit et consuluit, quod pro parte domini Potestatis Senarum moneatur dominus Ghinus Tachi quod cum dicta possessio ubi fit novitas supradicta sit Comunis Senarum, ipsam possessionem dimictat et ibi amplius non faciat aliquam novitatem, et hoc fiat si reperitur quod dicta possessio sit Comunis.

Consilium fuit in concordia super facto domini Ghini Tachi cum dicto et arengamento Rustichetti Guidi de Cortabrachis.

*Consiglio della Campana*, tomo lii. f. 106.

I have, in a note on p. 154, spoken of the new compilation of the statutes of Siena in 1337, and given an extract from it; but for the purpose of comparing the provisions concerning the Duomo with those of the statute of 1260, I print them here in full.

## VIII.

A.D. 1337.

In nomine Dei amen. Incipit prima distinctio constituti Comunis Senarum.

*De protectione et defensione maioris ecclesie beate Marie virginis, et episcopatus Senensis, et eorum bonorum et iurium, et quod in opere dicte ecclesie continuo sit unus custos, et unus operarius et unus scriptor et sex consiliarii, et de ipsorum officio.*

Maiore ecclesia episcopatus Senensis vacante pastore, teneatur Potestas Comunis Senarum ad requisitionem capituli dicte ecclesie, defendere et conservari facere bona dicte ecclesie et episcopatus. Item ad custodiam operis et laborerii dicte ecclesie continue moretur unus custos qui habeat ab operario dicti operis expensas, et a Comuni Senarum quolibet mense pro suo salario soldos xx. Sitque continue ad dictum opus complendum unus operarius sciens legere et scribere qui habeat pro suo salario quolibet mense libras quinque denariorum; et possit dare libere de vino dicti operis servientibus in dicto opere prout eidem videbitur pro melioramento ipsius operis. Sit etiam continue ad ipsum opus unus bonus scriptor qui habere debeat de bonis dicti operis pro quolibet mense pro sua mercede iiij$^{or}$ libras denariorum et non ultra. Et [sint] sex boni et legales viri, videlicet duo de quolibet terzerio civitatis Senarum, in consiliarios dicti operarii et operis; quorum consilio et provisione omnia et singula facienda in dicto opere dictus operarius facere debeat. Et nullum novum opus dictus operarius vel magistri in dicto opere existentes possint incipere, ordinare, facere aut fieri facere, vel aliquis eorum, sine expressa licentia dictorum consiliariorum et capud-magistri, vel duarum partium ipsorum ad minus. Et si dicti operarius et magistri vel aliquis eorum contrafaceret in aliquo intelligatur omnes expensas et costum de suo proprio donasse, et eo casu dicti consiliarii denuntient vinculo juramenti contrafacentem maiori syndico Comunis Senarum, qui syndicus cogat contrafacientem ipsas expensas integras satisfacere et restituere dicto operi, et ad observantiam omnium predictorum. Data dictis consiliariis bailia providendi in augmentando et fieri faciendo dictum opus, et de numero magistrorum qui sint in dicto et pro dicto opere, et generaliter in omnibus spec-

tantibus ad dictum opus, prout eis vel duabus partibus ipsorum videbitur convenire; et necessitate eisdem imposita revidendi bis in anno ad minus, videlicet quibuslibet sex mensibus, rationem totius introitus et expensarum dicti operis, ac et semel ad minus quolibet mense eorum officii in simul conveniendi ad tractandum ea que honori et utilitati ipsius operis crediderint convenire; ipsorum quolibet qui negligens vel remissus fuerit in faciendo predicta condempnando in xxv libris denariorum pro qualibet vice per maiorem syndicum supradictum iuxta excusationem (*sic*) semper salva. Teneantur insuper consiliarii antedicti qualibet ebdomoda semel convenire simul cum dicto operario, vinculo juramenti, pro negotiis operis antedicti. Et omnis provisio que per dictos consiliarios vel duas partes eorum fiet de aliquo novo opere faciendo debeat registrari per scriptorem dicti operis in libro ipsius operis, ipso operario presente, et secundum sic dictam provisionem in ipso opere procedatur, et non aliter vel alio modo, sub dicta pena. Quolibet ex dictis consiliarii[s] vacanti a dicto officio ab exitu sui officii ad duos annos, [*lacuna*] dictis et scriptore et sex consiliariis eligendis per dominos duodecim gubernatores Comunis Senarum et Consules mercantie, quolibet anno, de mense julii et de mense decembris, de sex in sex menses, et prout eis videbitur. Quorum operarii et scriptoris officium nullam habeat vacationem. Et teneantur dicti scriptor et operarius et eorum quilibet per se ordinate scribere in quodam libro omnes introitus et proventus ipsius operis, et omnes expensas et exitus ipsius operis, et tempus, scilicet mensem et diem, et causas et a quibus proveniunt introitus et quibus fiunt expense. Et teneantur iiij$^{or}$ provisores Comunis ad requisitionem dicti operarii dare calcinam necessariam dicto operi. Possitque dictus operarius libere marmora, portilia, pretaria et lapidicinia fodere et fodi facere, reducere et reduci facere ad dictum opus expensis Comunis Senarum, vel per comitatinos quo [*lacuna*] ad reductionem predictam, de quocumque loco vel possessione invito eo cuius esset locus vel possessio illa vel jus eorum, dum modo dictus operarius det suum et consuetum drictum domino dicte possessionis seu loci vel jus habenti; pena C. librarum denariorum applicanda Comuni Senarum imminenti, contrafacienti vel ut dictum est fieri predicta non permictenti; et nichilominus cogendo permictere fodi et reduci dicta marmora et lapides ut dictum est.

*De electione operarii.*

Per dominos duodecim et consules mercantie civitatis Senarum eligantur tres boni viri de civitate predicta, qui tres sic electi scruptinentur in generali consilio campane Comunis Senarum. Et qui ex eis plures voces habuerit, sit operarius dicti operis, et duret predictum eius offitium per unum annum a die introitus sui officii computandum. Qui operarius nullam licentiam possit concedere alicui de extrahendo, vel

consentire quod extrahatur aliquod lavorium de petra vel marmore de petraria dicti operis ullo modo. Cui operario magistri dicti operis, qui de cetero iverint unus vel plures pro aliquo salario ad aliquam divisionem faciendam, teneantur dare, et dictus operarius ab eis auferre teneatur, dimidiam partem pretii quod recipient pro dicta divisione in utilitatem operis convertendam. Et teneatur operarius antedictus si capomagister dicti operis inprehenderit aliquod opus alicuius singularis persone, et non steterit continue ad servitium operis, retinere pro rata de salario suo sicut aliis magistris, et faciat custodiri ita quod opus taglie non possit decipi, scribendo quemlibet diem et punctum in quo magistri aut manuales, vel aliquis eorum, stabunt extra dictam operam, et excomputet pro rata temporis sicut consuetum est.

*De oblationibus faciendis in vigilia et festo gloriosissime beate Marie virginis de mense augusti.*

Exceptis paupertate, hodio vel infirmitate detentis, omnes habitantes in civitatis Senarum burgis et subburgis majores annis xviij et a lxx annis infra, videlicet quilibet cum hominibus sue contrate in qua habitaret, teneantur ire in vigilia Sancte Marie virginis de mense augusti ad maiorem ecclesiam Senensem, de die et non de nocte, et cum ceris et non doppieris, pena centum solidorum denariorum portanti vel facienti portare doppierum, et offerre dictos ceros operi dicte ecclesie, et venire et stare in dicta vigilia in civitatem. Item quelibet comunitas comitatus et jurisdictionis Senarum teneatur offerre, in die festivitatis beate predicte ad dictam ecclesiam, operi dicte ecclesie, tot libras cere in ceris in quot centinariis librarum denariorum comunitas est alibrata Comuni Senarum. Et de tribus partibus dicte cere fiat unus cerus fogliatus quam pulcrior, et de residuo tot ceri quorum quilibet sit unius libre cere quod fieri possunt deferendi et offerendi per tot massarios illius comunitatis quot sunt ceri supradicti. Comunitas vero alibrata in minori quantitate C. librarum teneatur deferre et offerre tantum unum cerum unius libre. Et nullus possit sotiare deferentes dictos ceros comunitatis in dicta vigilia vel festo, pena C. soldorum denariorum, et medietas pene predicte sit cuiuslibet accusatoris. Liceat tamen Potestati de Monte Alcino, de Montepulciano, de Lucignano vallis Clane, vel eius filio, cum xx sotiis sotiare deferentes ceros dictarum comunitatum dicto tempore in eundo et redeundo ad dictam ecclesiam, dictis ceris folliatis ponendis in altum in dicta ecclesia, et sic custodiendis per annum, et in sequenti festo novis ceris ponendis et illis elevandis.

*Quod oblata applicentur operis (sic) Sancte Marie.*

Omnesque ceri qui offeruntur in dicta ecclesia in festo beati Bonifatii et beati Ansani, et pro censu Comunis Senarum quocumque tempore, ac etiam feudum dandum Comuni Senarum a comuni de Monte Alcino

quolibet anno xxx librarum denariorum, et etiam quicquid acquiritur in civitate Senarum pro dicto opere, excepto eo quod acquiritur in ecclesia majori diebus pascalibus, sint operis dicte ecclesie. Omnibus acquirentibus pro dicto opere cogendis jurare per dominum Potestatem de mense januarii de assignando sine diminutione in manus dicti operarii que ad eorum manus pervenerint.

*Statuti del Comune di Siena*, tomo xxv (num. ant.), f. 7.

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See text, *ante*, p. 170.

## IX.

A.D. 1353.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno sue salutifere incarnationis Millesimo iii°liij Indictione vj die veneris vij junii. Congregato et convocato generali consilio campane. . . .

Item cum audiveritis legi ad intelligentiam in presenti consilio quandam petitionem operarii opere Sancte Marie infrascripte continentie et tenoris, videlicet: Dinanzi da voi Signori Nove, governatori e difensori del Comune e del Popolo de la Cita di Siena, e cum reverenzia, si dimanda per parte del operaio del uopera Sante Marie, cioè de la chiesa magiore de la Cita di Siena, che concio sia chosa che i Signori quatro provisori de la bicherna del detto Comune non ano pagato già sono cinque anni o più al uopera Sancte Maria la limosina ordinaria la qual dovieno pagare per riformasgione di Consiglio di Campana del decto Comune, e sichome elli è molto manifesto la gloriosa Vergine Maria madre di Dio è suta, e è, e sarà sempre, si a Dio piace, guida, guarda, e defenditrice di questa Cita e del suo contado, e per tanto la detta magiore ghiesa del duomo Sante Marie, la quale è edificata e continuo s'edifica a honore e a reverenzia della decta Vergine gloriosa, el Comune tucto, e ciascheuno singulare cittadino è tenuto di mantenere e da cresciere quanto allui è possibile; e ancho concio sia chosa che la decta ghiesa non puo avere perfectione se non se prende col muro d'essa ghiesa parte del palazo del veschovado, e messer lo Veschovo di Siena a risposto al operaio sopradetto molto gratiosamente di volere in cio operare ogni chosa che sia honore e grandeza de la detta chiesa e piacere del Comune di Siena e de ciascheuno buono cittadino, adonqua acio che la sopradetta ghiesa la detta perfectione possa avere a honore e a reverenzia de la detta Madre di Dio vergine gloriosa,—vi piaccia di fare reformare nei consigli channo balia, che Signori quactro provisori de la bicherna del Comune di Siena, ei quagli entraranno all' offitio in Kalende Lulglio proximo che viene, e successivamente ciascheuno offitio di quattro de la detta bicherna, sia tenuto e debba, a la

pena di cento fiorini d'oro per ciascheuno di loro, da tollare per Misser lo Capitano de la guerra del detto Comuno, se nelle dette chose fossero negligenti, de la detta moneta e limosina, la quale dal detto Kalende luglio adirietro si doveva pagare a la detta uopera Sancte Marie e non è pagato, paghino e pagar debbano al operaio de la detta uopera Sancte Marie; ricevendo pella detta uopera oltra la limosina usata e douta a la detta uopera pello tempo avenire ij$^{c}$ florini d'oro, infine a tanto che la detta moneta e limosina chosi ritenuta sia compiuta di pagare. L'onipotente Dio e la detta sua gloriosa Madre vi conceda gratia di fare quello che sia loro santissima laude e reverentia, e sia honore e buono stato pacifico de la vostra Cita.

Insuper cum audiveritis legi in presenti consilio deliberationes habitas super dicta petitione, quarum talis est tenor, videlicet: Die v mensis junii lecta fuit presens petitio in presentia dominorum Novem, Potestatis, et Capitanei populi, et deliberatum fuit per eos quod presens petitio ponatur ad consilium ordinarii et executorum gabelle. Die vj mensis junii lecta fuit presens petitio in presentia dominorum Novem, ordinarii et executorum gabelle, et deliberatum fuit per eos quod dicta petitio ponatur ad generale Consilium Campane. Si igitur videtur et placet dicto Consilio et consiliariis statuere, sancire, ordinare et reformare prout in dicta petitione continetur, non obstantibus aliquibus statutis, ordinamentis, provisionibus et reformationibus Comunis Senarum, in Dei nomine consulatur. . . .

Item simili modo et forma facto et misso distincte partito ad lupinos albos et nigros, secundum formam statuti, [*lacuna*] proposita operarii Sancte Marie et consilio dato super ea, fuit obtentum, statutum, sancitum et reformatum quod plene fiat prout in ipsa continetur per clxxviiij consiliarios eiusdem consilii dantes eorum lupinos albos del *si*, et se cum dicta proposita et consilio concordantes, non obstantibus xv consiliariis dantibus eorum lupinos nigros del *no*, et se discordantibus a predictis.

*Consiglio della Campana*, tomo clv. f. 28.

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The two following documents relate to the means taken to secure the necessary supplies for the work towards the end of the fourteenth century. The first is an ordinance directing notaries called on to draw up a will that they should urge the testator to leave a legacy to the works. The last is an ordinance regulating the contributions of wax to be made annually by

the citizens, and it affords curious and interesting information concerning the occupations of the people, and the trades carried on in the city.

## X.

A.D. 1388, *marzo* 28.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno dominice incarnationis mccclxxxviij° Indictione xj$^{a}$ die xxviij mensis martii. Convocato et congregato generali Consilio campane Comunis et populi civitatis Senensis in consueto palatio, et magna sala palatii inferioris dicti Comunis, ad sonum Campane vocemque preconis ut moris est, in sufficenti numero secundum formam statutorum Senensium, et cetera: Dixit et proposuit honorabilis et sapiens vir Nannes Petri Johannini de numero Dominorum, de licentia et mandato Domini prepositi Dominorum prefatorum, in hac forma, videlicet;—

Laudabile apud Deum et honorabile apud homines certum est ecclesias honorare, manutenere, pariter et augere. Testatur enim scriptura: *honora Deum de substantia tua*, quod recte fit cum domus eius et cultus divinus in illis honorantur ab hominibus, et manus illis extenditur elemosinas largiendo. Nulli quidem dubium est quod maior ecclesia cathedralis civitatis Senensis inter cetera civitatis prefate iocale pulcrum est et honorabile, cuius opera temporum malignitate in introitibus deficit, et sicut liquet in expensis quasi indeficientibus aggravatur. Unde non deberet preterire quin cives et comitatini Senenses in mortis articulo constituti aliquid relinquere deberent opere supradicte, quod contingere creditur quare homines non recordantur neque fiunt memores per alios circumstantes. Ne igitur bonum hoc per negligentiam hominum depereat, ad laudem omnipotentis Dei et matris sue gloriosissime, et in remedium animarum omnium testatorum qui finem universe carnis absolvunt,—si videtur et placet dicto consilio et consiliariis dicti consilii providere, ordinare et reformare, et quod provisum, ordinatum et reformatum sit et esse intelligatur, auctoritate presentis consilii, validaque et perpetua ac irrevocabili lege firmatum: Quod omnes et singuli notarii civitatis, comitatus et districtus Senarum vel aliunde rogantes in civitate, comitatu et districtu Senarum aliqua testamenta, debeant singulariter talem testatorem memorem facere et persuadere eidem si aliquid vult relinquere opere Sancte Marie de Senis secundum ipsius testatoris liberam voluntatem. Et ad hoc ut clare sciri et videri possit quod sic fecerint, teneantur dicti notarii in eorum scripturis et rogationibus talium testamentorum de predictis facere mentionem et singulare capitulum, in presentia testium vocandorum et adhibendorum,

in qua scriptura distinguatur utrum talis testator aliquid reliquerit dicte opere vel non reliquerit, pena decem librarum denariorum pro quolibet notario contrafacente, et qualibet vice; applicandarum pro dimidia Comuni Senensi et pro alia dimidia dicte opere. In Dei nomine consulatur.

Super quibus omnibus et singulis et cetera;—

Unus ex consiliariis dicti consilii in ipso consilio surgens ad dicitorium consuetum dixit atque consuluit super dicta proposita quod sit, fiat et executioni mandetur pro ut et sicut in ipsa proposita continetur. In reformatione cuius consilii dato, facto et misso partito ad lupinos albos et nigros secundum formam statutorum Senensium, victum, obtentum et reformatum fuit quod sit, fiat et executioni mandetur pro ut et sicut in ipsa proposita continetur, per trecentos quatordecim consiliarios dicti consilii dantes ipsorum lupinos albos pro *sic*. Non obstantibus quadraginta nigris datis in contrarium predictorum.

Ego Andreas, quondam Justi Cenni de Vulterris, publica, apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius, Cesareaque autoritate iudex ordinarius, et nunc notarius Reformationum Comunis Senensis, predictis dum agerentur interfui, et ea rogatus scripsi et publicavi.

*Opera Metropolitana di Siena.*

## XI.

A.D. 1389.

In nomine Domini amen. Anno dominice incarnationis mccclxxxviiij Ind. xij die tertiadecima mensis aprilis. Convocato et congregato generali consilio campane Comunis et populi civitatis Senarum . . . dixit et proposuit honorabilis et sapiens vir Nannes Mini Neri de numero dominorum Priorum. . . .

Cum in honorem et augumentum maioris ecclesie Senarum per nonnullos prudentes cives Senarum data fuerit quedam petitio in hac forma, videlicet: Dinanzi a voi, magnifici signori, signori Priori, Governatori del Comune e Popolo de la città di Siena, et a voi venerabili e cari cittadini del consiglo: con ogni reverentia debita si spone per alcuno vostro cittadino, quello che sia honore de l'onipotente Idio e della sua madre santissima, et accrescimento de la vostra chiesa maggiore, e sia honore de la vostra magnifica Signoria e di tutta la città di Siena.

Considerando che da uno tempo in qua l'entrata del huopara de la vostra chiesa maggiore è molto diminuita, e mancata, e ridocta a meno che per metà, e per questa cagione et inpotenza de la decta huopara, la sopradetta vostra chiesa maggiore non può accrescere ne bonificare, ad honore de la gloriosa vergine Maria e come si richiederebbe a una si facta chiesa, e per questa impotentia non si può riparare al campa-

nile, che senza niuno rimedio è per cadere, e se non si guasta è per pericolare tutta la sopradetta chiesa; et acciò che la detta chiesa vengha in quello bonificamento che voi desiderate senza danno dei cittadini, è proveduto in questa forma che disocto è scripto.

Che tutti e cittadini di Siena et habitanti in essa città e tutti quelli de le masse sieno tenuti e debbano ogn'anno fare o mandare una volta offerta a la sopradetta chiesa maggiore di quella quantità di cera et in quelli tempi et in quelli modi che qui di sotto sono scritti, non lassando però ne diminuendo l'offerta di madonna santa Maria del mese d'agosto.

Et intendasi che la detta offerta, avendo prima riparato overo rifacto el sopradetto campanile, sia deputata solo in accrescere la sopradetta chiesa maggiore, et maximamente in fare uno campo santo, cioè luogo di sipolture, in quella forma e modo che è quello di Pisa, el quale è delle nobili cose di cristenità che a chiesa s'apartenghano. El quale campo santo si faccia nel duomo nuovo, overo là dove parà a l'operaio et a maestri che meglio stia. E questo facendo la vostra chiesa ne verrà in grandissima magnificenza e buono stato et honore grandissimo di tutta la città.

In prima che tutti e gentigliomini e piaczesi da xiiij anni in su debbano portare et offerire a la sopradetta chiesa maggiore ciaschuno uno cero d'una libbra o più, e la detta offerta debano fare la mattina de la pasqua de la Resurressione del nostro Signore Geso Cristo proxima che verrà anni domini mccclxxxviiij, e così debbano poi ogn'anno fare. Et che essi debbano andare a offerire in questo modo cioè: che ciascuno terzo vadano di per se raunandosi prima a una chiesa del decto terzo la quale alloro piacierà.

Ancho che tutti e mercatanti et artefici di tutta la città sieno tenuti e debbano, e i capomaestri e compagni, offerire ogn'anno uno cero d'una libbra o di più per ciaschuno; e tutti e factori o garzoni loro da xiiij anni in su debbano offerire ciaschuno uno cero di meza libbra o di più, la quale offerta facciano ogn'anno a la sopradetta chiesa maggiore in quelli dì e per quelle feste che qui di sotto sono dichiarate.

Banchieri, orafi, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì [*lacuna*].

Lanaiuoli, tiratori, tappetari, cardaiuoli, tintori, e tutti e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santo Jacomo e San Filippo, dì primo di maggio.

Ritaglieri, calzettai, e cimatori, e tutti loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Barnabe apostolo, dì xj di giugno.

Mercatanti grossi, ferraiuoli, pizzicaiuoli, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Giovanni Battista, dì xxiiij di giugno.

Setaiuoli, zendadai, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Piero et San Pavolo apostoli, dì xxviij di giugno.

Dipentori e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santo Jacomo e San Cristofano, a dì xxv di luglo.

Maestri di legname e di pietra, e cavatori e manovali, e tutti e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Lorenzo, dì x d'agosto.

Calzolari, scarsellari, correggiari e borsari, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Bartolomeo, dì xxiiij d'agosto.

Coiari, cerbolattari, cartari, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di S. Giovanni Battista Dicollato, dì xxviiij d'agosto.

Fabbri grossi, chiavari, spadari, agutari, padellari, armaiuoli e sbraghieri, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì de la natività di nostra Donna, dì viij di settembre

Pannilini, ligrettieri, linaiuoli, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì [*lacuna*].

Medici di fisica e cirusici, spetiali, barbieri, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santo Luca, dì xviij d'octobre.

Giudici, avocati e notari e procuratori, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di San Simone e Giuda, dì xxviij d'octobre.

Pellicciari, sartori, farsettari, bambagari, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì d'ogni santi, dì primo di novembre.

Mercatanti di bestie, carnaiuoli, e pesciaiuoli, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santa Caterina, dì xxv di novembre.

Fornieri, e panicuocoli, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santo Andrea apostolo, dì xxx di novembre.

Barlectari, balestrieri, tornatori, fusari, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì di Santa Lucia, dì xiij di decembre.

Bastieri, sellari e tavolacciari, e tutti loro sottoposti debbano offrire el dì di San Thomè apostolo, dì xxj di dicembre.

Orciolari, pignattari, coppari, fornaciari di mattoni, e bichierai, e tutti loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì de la nativita di Cristo, dì xxx di dicembre.

Biadaiuoli, farinaiuoli, portatori, tractori, crivellari, e loro sottoposti debbano offerire el dì de la circumcisione de nostro Signore Geso Cristo, dì primo di gennaio.

Maliscalchi, cozoni, e chi presta ronzini debbano offerire el dì della pasqua di Befania, dì vj di gennaio.

Albergatori, tavernieri, pollaiuoli, soffrittai debbano offerire el dì di sancto Anthonio, a dì xvij di gennaio.

Ancho che quelli de la compagna di Munistero perche non sono artefici debbano offerire ogni capo fameglia de la detta compagna uno cero d'una lira o di più ogn'anno el dì de la festa di Santa Maria candelora, dì ij di ferraio, e vadano tutti in sieme.

Ancho che tutte e tre le masse de la città debbano offerire per ciascuno terzo cento ceri di lira l'uno o più a la detta chiesa el dì di santo Mathia apostolo, a dì xxiiij di ferraio.

Ancho perche l'arte de pizicaiuoli bonificharà che la detta arte debbano agiognare a la loro offerta uno cero grosso fiorito di peso di xxv

lire con sei lire di fiori, e quattro doppieri con istaggiuoli di peso di xx lire o di più in tutto.

E sia tenuto ciascuno cittadino di Siena e de le masse e habitante in essa città la sopra detta offerta ogn'anno fare o facci fare ne detti dì diputati a la pena di x lib. per ciascuno e per ciascuna volta, a pagare in biccherna chi contrafacesse.

E tutti e Rectori e Camarlenghi de le dette arti sieno tenuti le sopradette offerte ne sopradetti dì fare e facciano fare ogn'anno a la pena di xxv lire per ciaschuno e per ciaschuna volta che contrafacesse, a pagare in biccherna. E ch'el Podestà sia tenuto le sopradette pene fare pagare a la pena di cento fiorini. E ch'el Camarlingho sia tenuto ritenere del suo salario. E ch'el detto misser Podestà abbi la quarta parte de le sopradette pene le quali facesse pagare a chi contrafacesse.

Si igitur dicto consilio et consiliariis dicti consilii videtur et placet providere, ordinare et reformare, et quod provisum, ordinatum et reformatum sit et esse intelligatur, auctoritate presentis consilii, prout et sicut in dicta proposita continetur, non obstantibus in predictis vel aliquo predictorum aliquibus statutis, reformationibus, provisionibus et ordinamentis Comunis Senarum in contrarium disponentibus, in Dei nomine consulatur.

In reformatione quorum consiliorum, dato, facto, et misso partito ad lupinos albos et nigros secundum formam statutorum . . . proposita offerte obtenta fuit per cccj lupinos albos, non obstantibus lxxxviij nigris.

*Consiglio della Campana*, tomo cci. f. 106.

# APPENDIX II.

## *IRREGULARITIES OF CONSTRUCTION IN ITALIAN BUILDINGS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.*

In his *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, Mr. Ruskin, speaking of the Romanesque and early Gothic, says that in buildings of these styles "accidental carelessnesses of measurement or of execution are mingled undistinguishably with the purposed departures from symmetrical regularity, and the luxuriousness of perpetually variable fancy, which are eminently characteristic of both styles. How great, how frequent they are, and how brightly the severity of architectural law is relieved by their grace and suddenness, has not, I think, been enough observed; still less the unequal measurements of even important features professing to be absolutely symmetrical." He proceeds to illustrate the fact of purposed departures from symmetrical regularity by the subtle arrangement of the seven arched compartments of the base of the western front of the Cathedral of Pisa, and by the exquisite delicacies of change in the proportions and dimensions of the apparently symmetrical superimposed arcades of the same front, and also by the "determined variation in arrangement which is exactly like the related pro-

portions and provisions in the structure of organic form" in the Romanesque Church of San Giovanni Evangelista at Pistoia, and in the west front of St. Mark's at Venice. "I imagine," he concludes, "I have given instances enough, though I could multiply them indefinitely, to prove that these variations are not mere blunders, nor carelessnesses, but the result of a fixed scorn, if not dislike, of accuracy in measurements, and, in most cases, I believe, of a determined resolution to work out an effective symmetry by variations as subtle as those of Nature."*

In the second volume of his *Stones of Venice*, published in 1853, he illustrates the subject still further by instances of "the peculiar subtlety of the early Venetian perception for ratios of magnitude," and of "an intense perception of harmony in the relation of quantities on the part of the Byzantine architects," drawn from the church at Murano, from some of the Byzantine palaces in Venice, and again from the Church of St. Mark.†

The subject, although of especial interest as illustrating the methods of building of the mediæval architects, and as exhibiting the refined artistic feeling and delicate perception which were the source of the finest effects of beauty in their work, has not received the attention which it deserves. Few of the writers on the architecture of the Middle Ages refer to it. Burckhardt, in his *Cicerone*, attributes the irregularities in symmetry to "an indifference to mathematical exactness peculiar to the early Middle Ages,"‡ which seems

* *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London, 1849), pp. 144–153.

† *The Stones of Venice* (London, 1851–53), vol. ii. pp. 37–43, and 121–128.

‡ *Der Cicerone* (2d edition, Leipzig, 1869), p. 102.

to exclude the idea of a guiding æsthetic sentiment and an exquisite æsthetic result.

In an interesting paper that appeared in *Scribner's Monthly*, New York, August, 1874, entitled *A Lost Art*, Mr. W. H. Goodyear has made the most important contribution to the topic since Mr. Ruskin wrote. From an ingenious examination of the group of cathedral buildings at Pisa, the Duomo itself, the Baptistery, and the Leaning Tower — those buildings which Forsyth well calls "fortunate both in their society and their solitude" — he comes to the conclusion that the various curves and inclinations visible in them, the noticeable deviations from exact symmetry in generally correspondent parts, and the many irregularities of construction which they present were "intended to produce optical effects, perspective illusions," for the purpose, in part, at least, of the apparent increase of dimensions; and he advances the theory that the science upon which the builders proceeded was a tradition handed down from the ancient Greeks through the Byzantines to the Byzantine architects of Italy. The evidence of intention in many of the irregularities is ample; the motive suggested for them by Mr. Goodyear, and his theory of derivation, seem to me questionable. There are similar divergences from symmetry, and similar designed irregularities, in buildings in regions where the influence of Byzantine modes of construction was never strongly felt.

The whole matter demands thorough investigation, based upon numerous and careful measurements of buildings in all parts of Italy. It presents curious problems, the solution of which deserves the labor and time it may require.

I am inclined to believe that while many of the irregularities which give so peculiar an aspect and often so great a charm of life and variety to the architecture of Italy in the early Middle Ages are due to the artistic sense of the builders (as, indeed, it seems to me, Mr. Ruskin has proved), others are due to the sinking of foundations and to carelessness in construction, such as we have evidence of in the erection of the cathedral at Siena; still others to the irregular supply of material, as well as to the variety of material brought from ancient buildings and worked into the new, as was frequently the case, for instance, in St. Mark's (see *ante*, p. 56); and others still to a change of design on the part of successive builders in works which, like the cathedrals of Siena and Florence, were labors continued through many generations.

We should have, then, to make two great distinctions—first, of the originally designed artistic irregularities, productive often of effects of great beauty and baffling intricacy, the result of fine architectural skill and feeling; and, second, of originally undesigned irregularities, often injurious to the character of the edifice, and displeasing to the eye, the result of accident, wilfulness, incompetence, or change of plan. The history of the building of the Duomo of Siena affords, as the preceding pages show, many illustrations of the operation of the latter set of causes of irregularity.

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